

The Philanthropist.

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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An Advertisement making one square or a space of equal length and breadth, will be inserted three times for One Dollar.

SLAVE-HOLDER'S DEPARTMENT.

Remarks of Mr. Glascock, of Georgia.

In the House of Representatives, Monday, January 25, 1835, on the presentation of a petition by Mr. Adams, of Massachusetts, from certain citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Glascock said, he had hoped that gentlemen would have paused before they proceeded to introduce other petitions of the same character, particularly after the vote which had just been taken, and when it was known that a similar petition had been made the order of the day for Saturday next, and that the resolutions embracing the whole subject were in the possession of the House, and would soon be finally acted on. To press these petitions now, under circumstances like these, seemed to him to be introduced to produce excitement, and wound the feelings of the southern members.

But as the gentleman from Massachusetts has thought proper again to speak of the sacred right of petition, and to urge that not to receive a petition was an encroachment upon that right, and a violation of the first amendment of the constitution, the latter part of which declares "that Congress shall pass no law to prevent the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances." He felt it his duty, situated as he was, having made a motion to that effect some days since, to offer a few remarks in reply. Mr. G. said he hoped he would be pardoned for again repeating and saying, once for all, that he had as high a regard for the right of petition as any member on that floor; but in admitting this, he must observe, he had an equal regard for the rights and privileges secured to every member under the rules and regulation adopted for our government. Sir, said Mr. G., I feel a perfect conviction, from the slight investigation which I have been enabled to give this subject, that we have a clear constitutional right not to receive a petition; and in doing so, we violate no part of that instrument, to which gentlemen have so frequently referred; nor do we encroach upon any of those rights intended to be secured under it. I hold, said Mr. G., that when any portion of our fellow-citizens peaceably assemble, and petition Congress for a redress of grievances, and those petitions are presented, and their contents briefly stated, as required by one of our rules, that moment, if not before, all the rights intended to be secured to the citizens, were secured and fully complied with; and it then devolves on this House to dispose of them as may seem just and proper, in conformity to its rules; which would be, not to receive, to reject after receiving, or to refer it to some select or standing committee, or lay it on the table, dependent entirely upon the will of a majority.

Mr. G. emphatically asked, what is the question now presented for consideration? It is this, "shall the petition be received?" It cannot now be denied. Nay, it is admitted on all hands that the question is a proper one. Yes, sir, it grows out of the very motion made by the gentleman himself, on presenting his last petition, which was that "the petition be received." This brings me, sir, to an important feature, necessarily involved in the discussion, and I shall proceed to show that Mr. Jefferson, the great and illustrious statesman, whose knowledge and experience of all parliamentary rules and regulations have never been questioned, and whose Manual is at this day looked upon, and recognized as a text book, and adopted by all legislative bodies, and deliberative assemblies throughout the union for their government, and particularly by the Congress of the United States, holds, and so lays it down in his remarks which follow the 45th rule. "That regularly a motion for receiving a petition must be made and seconded, and a question put whether it shall be received, and it is in accordance with his views thus expressed, that the question is now presented, and must always be presented on the presentation of a petition, if there be any objections to its reception. This, said Mr. G., he understood to be the uniform practice of this House, and was strictly adhered to in the Senate. If this principle be established, away with all constitutional scruples and objections. They can avail no one, for all who knew the justly styled Sage of Monticello, must know, that in expanding constitutional questions, if he had an equal, he had no superior. Sir, said Mr. G., Mr. Jefferson was a strict constructionist, and would have been among the last to have incorporated into the rules of this House any question, a decision of which, would violate that constitution which he held so dear and sacred, and with great deference to the opinions of others, he looked upon it as a reflection upon his memory even to suppose it. Had he considered that not to receive a petition, was to deprive the citizens of this country of the right of petition, a right intended to be secured to them under the clause of the constitution to which he had referred, would he not have engrained into the rules, or in commenting upon them, have declared that all petitions must be received emanating from the people peaceably assembling and petitioning for a redress of grievances. The inference, said Mr. G. to his mind, was irresistible, and he honestly believed all would come to the same conclusion upon mature reflection. That Mr. Jefferson had an eye single to the constitution at the time he prepared his manual, he had never doubted, and even if he had, he should have been satisfied of the fact upon reading a sentence from the preface to his work, in which he states, "That he considered the law of the proceedings of the Senate as composed of the precepts of the constitution," &c. Let it not be forgotten that Mr. Jefferson, as Vice President of the United States, presided over that body for years, from which time to the present period, the question, "shall the petition be received," has been recognized and considered as a proper one, and not conflicting with any feature of our constitution or why should it be retained; why, permit me to ask, has it not been erased from the rules? or why, are we permitted, by recording our votes in the negative, on the present question, to violate it, as gentlemen say it will be. Sir, said Mr. G., if it be unconstitutional to receive a petition, we should not for a moment permit by a rule, or by the practice of this House, any question to be propounded, the result of which would lead to its violation; for himself, he had no

scruples on the subject. This question being adopted and considered by Mr. Jefferson as a proper one, left him no ground on which even to doubt, and he felt no disposition to look for higher authority to sustain him in the views he had taken, or to justify him in the course which he had pursued in relation to these petitions. But he could not conclude his remarks on this branch of the subject, without referring with pride and pleasure to a vote given by two distinguished Senators from his own state, as late as the year 1805, against the reception of a petition from sundry citizens of the state of Pennsylvania, (from whence this petition now comes) pleading the cause of their degraded and oppressed fellow-men of the African race, as they were pleased to term them; and on the question to receive the petition, I find the names of those great and good men, James Jackson, and Abraham Baldwin, recorded in the negative, and in whose veins purer streams of honor, patriotism, and virtue, never flowed; and who were men as devotedly attached to the principles of the constitution as ever lived, and as watchful of the rights of their fellow-citizens and on whom it may be truly said, the affections of their people were concentrated. This vote was given too, at a time when there was but little excitement compared with the excitement of the present day; there was at that period but few abolition societies in the country, no presses established for the printing and circulating incendiary pamphlets, no one was then in the employ of those societies freely to circulate them throughout the land, as they are now, to effect their objects, and to produce consequences most awful in their character. Who, said Mr. G., does not behold the contrast, and who from the south will not exclaim if it were right then to reject those petitions, it was imperiously their duty to reject them now. God forbid that any of us should falter in the present contest.

A few remarks, said Mr. G., relative to those petitions, and he would conclude the argument, which he regretted he was forced to enter into in consequence of their introduction. He had taken some pains to look into these petitions, with a view to judge of their character, and of the language used by the applicants, and he felt bound to state that of the great number which had been crowded upon us, he scarcely read one which was not highly disrespectful and libellous upon the whole south, and especially those who are owners of slaves. How can it be expected under such a state of things, that we can pursue a different course than to vote against the reception of each and all of them as they are presented; for himself, he felt bound to do it, and in doing so it was in perfect accordance with his own feelings, and he confidently believed it would be in accordance with the feelings of those whom he had the honor in part to represent. Be this, however, as it may, he should continue to discharge, fearlessly, what he conceived to be his duty, which was to stamp these petitions, (coming from whatever quarter they may) with the seal of reprobation, and treat them with the just indignation they merit; and he should continue to do this regardless of all consequences, and of all political considerations.

Mr. G. said he had long since determined not to go into a general discussion of the merits of slavery, for no new lights could be shed upon it; but whenever it became necessary to act upon the resolutions of the gentleman from Maine, he might again feel it his duty to address the House on the constitutional question as to the right of Congress interfering with the subject in this District; until then he should endeavor to remain silent, and for the present would no longer trespass on the patience of the House.

SLAVERY—AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Alexandria and New Orleans Packets.

[From the St. Louis (Miss.) Observer.]

Bass Tribune, Samuel C. Boush, master, will sail as above, on the 1st of January; brig Isaac Franklin, Wm. Smith, master, on the 15th of February. They will continue to leave this port on the 1st and 15th of each month throughout the shipping season. They are all vessels of the first class, commanded by experienced and accommodating officers, will at all times go up the Mississippi by steam, and every exertion used to promote the interest of shippers and comfort of passengers. Shippers may prevent disappointment by having their bills of lading ready the day previous to sailing, as they will go promptly at the time.

Seventy, that are intended to be shipped, will at any time be received for safe keeping at 25 cents per day.

Alexandria, 29th Dec. 25.

The above advertisement is copied from the National Intelligencer. The vessels here advertised are slave vessels, and the name here signed is that of a noted slave driver. And the whole business is carried on under the sanction of the Congress of the United States. Our feelings do indeed boil up in our heart as we think of this, but we intend to be calm in what we shall say. And we ask in the name of justice and humanity, wherein consists the difference of the slave trade between the District of Columbia and New Orleans, or between Bass Cove and New Orleans? The following is a fair statement of the two cases.

Mr. Armfield fits out a vessel, sails to the coast of Africa, goes to a savage chieftain and says to him, "If you will bring me so many negroes, I will give you so much a piece for them." Whereupon the savage collects a band of his followers, marches off to the hamlet of some neighboring tribe, the unfending inhabitants of which he surprises in the silent hours of midnight, burns their dwellings, seizes indiscriminately upon the desired number of victims, taking here a husband and there a wife, here a son and there a father, bears them off to the trader, and receives his promised price.

They are brought to New Orleans and sold. The transaction becomes known, and Mr. Armfield and those who acted with him are hung. Congress has pronounced such a transaction—piracy.

Mr. Armfield brings three vessels up the Potomac to the wharf at Alexandria, a port in the District of Columbia, where the Congress of these United States has exclusive jurisdiction. It is a time when Congress is assembled. He himself lands, provides himself with an office in which to do business with his customers, fits up a large pen, strongly and securely enclosed, capable of holding whatever he designs to put in it, and then advertises in all the public newspapers of the national territory, that he has come after negroes to ship off to New Orleans. Whoever will bring him a likely negro man or woman, shall be paid so much a piece.—In a day or two may be seen droves of negroes, "of both sexes," chained together, driven down Pennsylvania Avenue, past the capitol, on towards Mr. Armfield's depot. These have been collected by going round through the neighboring counties of Virginia and Maryland, and carried off against their wills, amidst the groans and sobs of bereaved families,

here a husband, there a wife, here a father, there a son. They are driven on to the trader, who pays the stipulated amount, sails with them to New Orleans, and there sells them at auction to the highest bidder, in the public square of the city. Mr. Armfield has made a handsome profit upon the transaction, but in thus trafficking in the flesh, and sinews, and bones of his fellow-men, he has violated no law of his country.

He is therefore at perfect liberty to repeat the transaction as soon and as often as he pleases.

But the picture is not yet complete. As the drove of chained slaves passed by the capitol, one of the representatives of the people who, just before he started from home, had made a loud stump speech in favor of assisting the Texans to break their chains, which speech was enthusiastically applauded by his constituents,—this same representative is now enchainning the whole House as he pleads the cause of universal liberty, and denounces tyranny and tyrants of every name and degree. Liberated Greece, oppressed Poland, the South American states, all furnish topics for his fervid eloquence and call forth expressions of the warmest sympathy. He kindles as he proceeds, till his eye in a fine frenzy rolling, catches a glimpse of his manacled fellow-men as they are driven by the proud dome whose lofty walls are echoing to his eloquence. His speech is soon finished, he snatches his hat and hurries down to Mr. Armfield's to tell him that the overseer on his sugar or cotton plantation, in Louisiana or Mississippi, is greatly in want of one or two dozen slaves. He gives the slave trader the necessary directions, and a draft for the value of the slaves to be paid on their delivery, and hurries back to the house of legislation.

As he enters, the clerk is just reading a petition from a number of his fellow-citizens, asking Congress to take the subject of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia into their consideration, that they may cause it to cease as soon as possible. As soon as the reading is finished, the eloquent asserter of liberty springs from his seat, and in the most impassioned manner, and with the most violent tones and gestures, denounces the signers of that petition as every one of them "hypocrites," "fanatics," and "traitors." He declares that they ought to be hung up by the neck, without benefit of clergy, and then proceeds to pronounce an eulogy upon slavery. He affirms it to be, in no sense an evil, but a blessing, a political and a moral good, and boldly asserts that it has the sanction of the Bible, and finishes by saying, that sooner than give up the right of buying and selling his black fellow-men, he would destroy the union at once.

Is the above a caricature? Would to God it were. But it is, alas! too true, as our readers well know.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE PRESS.

The Religious Magazine and Slavery.

A CORRESPONDENCE.

We occasionally receive a communication from the south in respect to the course pursued by this work on the subject of slavery. As it is desirable that there should be a frank and honest understanding on this point between us and our readers, we publish the following correspondence as the simplest mode of laying the whole case before them:—

LETTER I.

From a gentleman in the southern states to the editor of the Religious Magazine.

S. C. Jan. 25, 1835.

GENTLEMEN—As much as I admire your writings generally, there is one feature in your Magazine, which no southerner, indeed no northerner, who properly understands the matter, and who is actuated by pure motives, can approve. I allude to the friendly attitude it has lately assumed towards abolitionists and abolitionism. Although you have more than once disclaimed any connection with these disturbers of the harmony of our country, still you say enough in favor of them to ruin your popularity as writers among us.

I have read, with unaffected sorrow, your review of Dr. Channing's work upon slavery, because you there subscribe to sentiments advanced by him, that are utterly at variance with truth. For instance, he proves that the slave of the south must be treated cruelly, from a principle in the nature of man to abuse absolute power when entrusted to him. Now this is entirely true as a philosophical fact; but does this state of things really exist among us? Are slaves entirely within the power of their owners, to be treated by them just as they may think proper? If Dr. Channing or yourself think so, (as it would appear from your writings you really do) you are yet to learn, that the master among us has not, by any means, absolute power over his slaves. They are protected by the laws of the country as far as it is at all necessary. The man who maltreats his slaves among us, is looked upon as a cruel wretch, and is held in general detestation. But you may say this is not law. It is better than all legal enactments; for it shows the general tone of feeling upon the subject, which ensures to the slave all necessary kindness.

The fact is, northerners as a general rule, know nothing of this subject, and are, therefore, not badly prepared to speak upon it. How do you account for the fact that every northerner, with but one or two disgraceful exceptions, after having dwelt for a time among us, has become pleased with us as a people, and entirely satisfied with slavery as it exists among us? It cannot be said in relation to such individuals, that they belong to one of those classes of observers, spoken of by Dr. Channing, who are either too far or too near to the object to see it distinctly. They have the advantage, I apprehend, of either yourselves or Dr. Channing, as they have viewed it from every position. I am aware that the withdrawal of my name, from your subscription list, would be but a small matter; but I assure you, if you persist in pursuing the course lately so inauspiciously commenced, so far as the south is concerned, your list will be greatly curtailed. Will you thus inconsiderately (it must be so) forego the power of doing further good among us? I hope not. I hope you will let the question of slavery alone;—let us manage our own affairs.

I have thus, gentlemen, in a candid manner, as I trust, given my views to you in relation to this matter. And I do hope that it may not become necessary for me to discontinue a periodical that I value so much as I do yours, on account of sentiments that I know must have been hastily formed by you. If I have said any thing calculated to wound your feelings, I do assure you it was not intended to have such an effect.

LETTER II.

Reply.

Boston, Feb. 12, 1835.

Sir—Yours of January 25, was received by us a few days ago. We cannot proceed in our reply,

without first thanking you for the frank and gentlemanly manner in which you have made known to us your complaints, in respect to our proceedings.

We are not disposed to question the correctness of your statements in respect to the treatment of slaves in the southern states. There is abundant evidence that the blacks are with you treated well,—as slaves, or so far as slaves can be treated well with safety. Our objection to slavery is, to the system and not to anything peculiarly oppressive in the manner in which it is administered by our countrymen at the south. We are well convinced that the system itself, however softened by the humanity of the masters, contains radical tendencies to evil, and that the progress of light, and benevolence, and civilization, is gradually supplanting it by a better order of things, and must continue to do so until its complete extinction is effected throughout the world. By this, however, we do not mean any turning of society upside down, or any material change in the department of labor now occupied by the colored people in your part of the country. We mean a change from the condition of slaves to that of a peasantry, led to the same labors which they now perform by the stimulus of hope, instead of that of mere bodily fear, and controlled by the power of a magistracy regulated by law, instead of the irresponsible justice or caprice as the case may be, of a mere owner. This change we think the principles and feelings of brotherhood which christianity requires between man and man, loudly demand, and the progress of society will inevitably effect it. Every well-wisher to the race ought, in our opinion, to endeavor to promote it, whether he has a direct connection with the system by a residence at the south, or one more indirect, through any influence which he may exert on public opinion through the public press.

We confess we do not see ground for the extreme sensitiveness manifested by the south in regard to all expression of opinion on this subject. If masters and slaves are really comfortable and happy in this relation, all attempts to disturb it must certainly be nearly harmless; especially as the masters only can read the discussions. Besides, if you are to keep out of the southern country all that opposes slavery, you must exclude the literature of the world,—for a strong desire to have personal freedom universal has obtained complete possession of the public mind in every civilized country, and the sentiment will steal continually into the productions of the press in every form. In fact, the civilized world is moving in that direction with a momentum which cannot be resisted long by any community which forms a part of it, and instead of holding back, and vainly attempting to resist, it seems to us that every philanthropist, north and south, ought to aid good humoredly and cheerfully, in effecting the result which ought to come and must come.

These are our views, and though we do not intend to devote any great portion of our pages to this subject, we shall necessarily feel bound, in justice to our subscribers, as well as to our own sense of duty, to speak occasionally upon a topic attracting so large a portion of public attention as this does at the present time. The subscription list to our Magazine is no object to us in a pecuniary point of view. We conduct it in the intervals of more serious avocations, with a view chiefly to its influence on the public mind. Our subscribers in the southern country too, are far too few to influence us in this respect, were the extent of our circulation an object of special consideration as a means of income. Still we value our southern subscribers very highly in proportion to their numbers, and should regret very much to give any of them just occasion to decline receiving our work. No one, however, is aware more fully than yourself, that the value of a newspaper or periodical depends in a very great degree upon the openness and freedom with which the subjects treated in it are discussed, and the independence with which the editors express their honest opinions. Far the greatest proportion of readers prefer this, and for the sake of it are willing to tolerate a great deal, from time to time, which is inconsistent with their own views.

Under these circumstances, we, perhaps, have no reason to expect that you will continue your subscription. Should you decide to discontinue it, by returning us any number, with your name and residence upon it, you can indicate your wishes, and we will communicate them to the publisher.

With sincere respect, we are yours, &c.

THE EDITORS.

Abbot's Magazine.

SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

Letter from Theodore D. Weld.

The following letter from Mr. Weld, was not received in time to be read at the meeting of the convention, but the publishing committee have resolved to give it to the public with the other proceedings.

ITHACA, N. Y., Jan. 26, 1836.

To the Rhode Island, State Anti-Slavery Convention:

DEAR BRETHREN:—I have received a kind letter inviting me to your convention. As I cannot report myself to the convention in person, which I exceedingly regret, I must be content to be represented by such a proxy as I can find time to scribble before the departure of this evening's mail. And if it be not a very "incendiary document," charge it to the congreelings, watchings and exhaustions of a journey of four hundred miles, prosecuted night and day, in a zero atmosphere.

With my whole heart, dear brethren, I shout to you my fraternal "ALL HAIL!"—What! another convention for the formation of a State Anti-Slavery Society!—Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Kentucky, Ohio, New York, and now Rhode Island! Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously! Be His alone the praise! The toil, the peril, the suffering of shame, the spoiling of goods, the loss of all things, be this our lot and joy, and this our song, in the house of our pilgrimage. "The lines have fallen unto us in pleasant places, and we have a goodly heritage."

Success to a good cause, is God's endorsement to it. It is more. It is his reward for the past, his promise and his premium for the future.—His high command forthrightly striving.—His trumpet call, summoning onward from strength to strength and from conquering to conquer. If this be not its effect upon us, success will be disaster, prosperity downfall, victory defeat, and triumph ruin. We unto us if our zeal and faith do not keep pace with our responsibilities. It is reason at such a time as this, for them to lag in the rear of success, hanging upon their skirts, mere pensioners and encumbrances. They must explore far in advance, casting up a high way for the sacramental host, while they shout and wave signals from every hill-top as they beckon the van. If every new accession to our cause, girds us anew, buoys up to higher aims, gives us a fresher baptism,

a holier unction, and a firmer anchorage on God, then shall our light break forth as the morning, and thick darkness become noon-day. What! Shall the hands be no longer staid up when Israel begins to prevail! Shall zeal be quenched rather than kindled by the anointing oil? Shall vigilance let down its watch when the din of the conflict is waxing louder, and be lulled into slumber by the shoutings of triumph begun? Better had the places which know us, should know us no more,—yea, had known us never,—than thus to betray the world's last trust, and dash forever its new born hopes, recreant to truth, traitorous to humanity, and making shipwreck of faith in apostasy from God.

I this moment remember that Rhode Island is the land of Roger Williams, and Samuel Hopkins, and Moses Brown; veterans, pioneers, patriots, in the cause of human liberty. (God be praised that the two former went up to Heaven, they did not take their mantles with them; and that the latter lives to vindicate the rights of man.) But there is another side to the picture. Rhode Island is steeped in the guilt and infamy of the African slave trade. Some of her princely fortunes are the product of traffic in the souls of men! We hail our State Anti-Slavery Convention, as the glorious first fruits meet for repentance: an offering of a sweet smelling savor! What more befitting than that Rhode Island should organize a State Anti-Slavery Society, in whose full laver she may cleanse away her stains, and "wash her hands in innocency!" Further,—she is the most profitable customer of the south in her great staple of cotton,—thus deputing the master, as her agent, to plunder the slave of his all, and then by inviting him to her market with her spoils to receive the wages of his iniquity, she bribes him to plunder again. Further—your beautiful city and villages, along your shore and through your interior, are the summer resort of thousands who hold slaves at the south. What opportunities for influence against slavers, for argument, remonstrance, warnings, entreaties, and tears! Verily, Rhode Island must have a State Anti-Slavery Society. I have no fears as to the issue of your convention. Though a stranger to your persons, perhaps without an exception, yet your creed I know. Your spirit, your testimony, and zeal, and patience of hope and labors of love, I know, and claim a oneness with you in indissoluble brotherhood.

The circumstances under which the Convention will assemble, are marked and peculiar. Events the most extraordinary and portentous are crowding upon us thick as the hours. Now is the crisis. Congress and state legislatures, in debate on questions vital to our existence—the rights of discussion—petition—freedom of speech: of the press: of the public mail:—whether the constitutions shall be charters or the neckers of rights:—whether law shall be a reality or a nullity!—Where are we? Robberies of the mail, perpetrated by its official guardians! Mob, headed by judicial officers! Constitutional assemblies of the people, broken up by violence, while judges and members of Congress, preside on the occasion and officiate during the ceremony! Municipal authorities, appeasing the wrath of a frenzied rabble by the violent seizure of private property, and sacrificing it as a peace offering! An innocent citizen, seized in bed at midnight, gagged, threatened with mutilation and death, and dragged from the house by a score of ruffians! Another, chased down in the streets of a city, and dragged about with ropes at noon-day! Another, he a stranger on an errand of love, hunted like a beast of prey from town to town, and city to city by a ferocious multitude, eager to lap his blood! All this, and a thousand times more, in FREE STATES and LAW MUTE; and public sentiment with loud acclaim, shouting its exultations over the whole! While these outrages are enacted at the north, thousands at the south, no longer content with the robbery of individual rights are making a desperate clutch at the rights of a nation, and waging deadly strife to wrest Texas from Mexico, to make it a slave market!

Would that these were the only signs of the times, black with baleful portent. But no! The church of God not only lays upon its altar "robbery for burnt offering," but now she waxes bolder in impiety, and summons her Great Head to prove, that the imbruting of His image is a virtue! And she blasphemously craves His aid in the process, and His benediction in the result: claiming, that to traffic in the purchase of atoning blood, and to make merchandise of the temple of the Holy Ghost, is homage to God, obedience to the law of love, an imitation of the patriarchs and apostles, and well pleasing to the Holy One!

But, I need not enumerate. I have already wearied you with detail. My apology is, that yours is the first State Anti-Slavery Convention held since the spirit of slavery stripped off its last disguises, and revealed its own reality, walking naked and foaming out its own shame and blasphemy and blood. All who love our blessed cause wait, as those who watch for the morning, to hear from your convention a testimony voiced forth in the majesty of Truth and in the name of Jehovah: such a solemn testimony as the crisis demands, and such as God will surely enable the convention to give. We wait to be girded, strengthened, abundantly refreshed and mightily impelled onward by your proceedings. We expect to find in them, SYMPATHY, melting as the heart of Jesus, and wide and deep as human woe. BENEVOLENCE, flowing like the water of life, in the river of God. PRINCIPLE, disdaining alliance with the policy of the world. TRUTH and RIGHT, erect and aloft in the pure air and clear sunshine of their own home. CONSCIENCE, unblinded by passion, unbribe by interest, unentangled by expediency, aloof from guile, and sternly holding temptation at bay. Duty, deaf alike to parody and to importunity, neither stooping to compromise nor shrinking from conflict, neither awed by menace nor whedled by flattery, nor seduced by show-words or thorns be the pathway, whether conveyed by Angels shouting songs of deliverance, or gnashed upon by Demons, yelling the war cry of the pit. But I am admonished to close. May the God of the oppressed, of the poor, and needy and those who have no helper; guide the convention into all truth and duty: so pervading your deliberations, and so ordering your decisions, that "salvation as a lamp that burneth" may go out from your midst over all the wrongs and woes of a bleeding world, and speedily bring in the glorious consummation, when the wicked shall cease from troubling, and the weary be at rest, and the slave free from his master.

Most affectionately, your brother

In bonds with the perishing,

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD.

If thou desire the love of God and man, be humble; for the proud heart, as it loves none but itself, so it is beloved of none, but by itself; the voice of humility is God's music, and the silence of humility is God's rhetoric. Humility enforces when neither virtue nor strength can prevail, nor reason.—Quarles.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

COMMUNICATIONS.

Address.

TO CHRISTIAN FEMALES IN THE SLAVEHOLDING STATES,—from the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Muskingum county, Ohio.—

CHRISTIAN SISTERS:—Our proximity to the slaveholding section of our country, and the interest we feel in you, as members of the household of Christ, render us greatly solicitous, to obtain the co-operation of your sympathy, and efforts in behalf of the suffering slave. We have therefore felt it our duty, to spread out before you some of the motives which have actuated us, (and to which we trust your hearts will not be insensible) in espousing the cause of immediate emancipation.

If we are truly what we profess to be—however widely we may differ in many of our views and usages, we must be actuated by the same spirit: that spirit is love,—love to man, and love to God, manifesting itself in every possible form for the good of our fellows, and the glory of our Redeemer's kingdom. In the exercise of this spirit we hope to address you; a spirit which we would fain hope will be reciprocated, and enable you to judge charitably of our intentions, and to shield us from any reproach, by which the enemies of the cross of Christ may seek to bring christianity itself into contempt.

You may perhaps be ready to ask, What possible good can we hope to accomplish, by addressing those who themselves have no direct control over the continuance or abolition of slavery—matters which belong so exclusively to your husbands and fathers as to exempt you from all responsibility in regard to them? We reply, by asking with all kindness, Are you exempt from all responsibility? We grant, that so far as mere forms of business and legislation are concerned, it is not within your province. But do you exert no influence? Are you really such cypresses in the domestic circle, and in society, that your opinions have no weight? Are your principles and feelings entirely disregarded?

Different as are the modifications which society assumes where slavery exists, we cannot for a moment admit, that its influence has been such as to render woman the toy, rather than the rational companion of man—but however small may be the influence of some, with man, have not all influence with God? Is not his throne of grace always accessible, and can you not plead there in behalf of the heart-stricken captives in your midst, with a fervency and importunity that shall be blessed of him to their final deliverance?

The most civilized and intellectual heathen nations, seem to have well understood the power of female influence, when they deified a woman as goddess both of wisdom and war—and though some of your orators have indulged in no very gallant railery against our sex, on the floor of Congress, we are not thence to infer, that our sisters of the south are plunged into the barbarism of remote antiquity, or sunk in Asiatic imbecility and voluptuousness. Indeed we cannot forget, that we are inhabitants of free America, enjoying the light of the 19th century under the glorious gospel of the Son of God—one of the distinguished features of which, is, the restoration of woman to that moral and intellectual standing for which she was originally designed, when God pronounced her a help meet for man—that is every way suited to his rank and dignity in creation.

We address you as women, therefore, whose influence through all the ramifications of society cannot but be felt; as those whose power, in giving tone to public morals, in forming the principles and moulding the character of the rising generation, cannot be questioned,—and we would beseech you to exert that influence on the side of justice and mercy. As christian women; a fearful responsibility rests upon us all, to do every thing in our power to remove this great evil from the church of Christ, where it has so long found refuge and protection.

That it is wrong to hold property in man, we conceive to be evident, from the fact, that God created him in his own image, destined him to immortality, and constituted him lord of creation,—a distinct species from all that moved upon the face of the earth. This order of things are found no where reversed in the word of God. Some, indeed, in the dispensation of his providence, are 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'—this, however, by no means involves forfeiture of these heaven-chartered rights, with which their Creator endowed them—and whosoever deprives his fellow of these, and reduces him to the condition of property—a thing, to be bought and sold, and used as the brutes that perish, is guilty of rebellion against God, and exposes himself to the just judgment of insulted Deity.

We believe, too, that it is utterly at variance with that great law of love 'as ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them'—and directly opposed to those pure and benevolent principles, which actuated the Redeemer in his mission to this fallen world. He left his throne of blessedness, and suffered all that the envy, malice, and hatred of a wicked world could inflict, that he might procure pardon for the guilty. Can it be the same spirit which forges chains and fetters for the innocent—accused of no crime save that of having 'a skin not colored like our own'? Is there a plague-spot on the soul—an incubus on the intellect? Who hath made us discerners of the heart and of the mind? An inspired Apostle hath said, 'if any man hath not the spirit of Christ he is none of his.'

Nor is it more compatible with that other and parting command of our ascending Redeemer, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.' For many years, the attention of christianity has been directed to the duty of fulfilling this command; and doubtless, your own charities have assisted in erecting the standard of the cross in every far-off shore and sea-girt isle. While we are thus compassing the earth with our missionary efforts, is there not one class of our fellow-travellers to eternity, within our borders, who are by law rendered nearly or quite inaccessible to all missionary or christian operations? What is it, that in a land professedly christian, has erected this impious barrier between the soul and its God? What is it that absolutely forbids immortal beings searching the Scriptures as God commands? Is it not SLAVERY? Do not mistake our meaning. We speak now of the system, not of individual practice. You perhaps, are honestly laboring, so far as you think circumstances will admit, for the spiritual welfare of your slaves; (verily it is a mighty responsibility,) and we trust we do duly appreciate that moral courage which animates such as refuse to fall in with a cor-

rupted public sentiment, and stand unappalled by cruel statutes.—Nevertheless, these exceptions to the rule, these kind efforts, form no argument in favor of the system, as it is, and ever must be. For are there not thousands of slaves beyond the reach of all religious influence, who never have heard of Jesus as the Saviour of sinners? and hundreds of thousands, who have never been taught, or permitted to read the book of God's love?

Nor, is it any palliation, to say that many persons in the free states are entirely ignorant of the first principles of religion. If there be such, and we admit there are—it is not because the missionary is shut out by legal enactments—there is no law to exclude the word of God from the humblest cottage of the poorest poor—on them, and not on our free institutions, rests, the guilt. And now we ask if slavery, viewed in all its bearings on the spiritual welfare of its victims, (to say nothing of their physical sufferings) is, or can be, in accordance with the word or will of God? Indeed, we ourselves cannot avoid the conclusion, that slavery is not only in itself a sin, but that sins of every name and character cluster in its train.

Will you not then, dear sisters, be induced to examine this subject, if you have not already done so, in the light of God's holy word? Settle it, first, in your own minds, that slaveholding is a sin, and like all other sins, ought to be immediately abandoned. Should such an investigation however, fail to convince you of your own individual guilt, do you not see, that however mild and compassionate your own course may be, you are nevertheless sanctioning a system, which is polluting the land with crime, and filling it with the tears and groans of an afflicted and heart-broken people.

In what way emancipation shall be effected, we cannot pretend to say. We know that it rests with the slaveholders themselves, and through them, with the legislatures of the several states, to accomplish so desirable an object. But this much we believe, that whenever the moral sense of the community on this subject shall be rectified, the path of duty will be both plain and practicable.

The limits of a newspaper address, do not admit of any detail on this point. Could you be induced to look into our anti-slavery publications, treasonable and incendiary as they are represented, you would, we doubt not, find many of those difficulties removed, which at first view embarrass and discourage you. We pray you, let not prejudice prevent you from acquainting yourselves with our real sentiments.

In conclusion we would say—dear sisters, harden not your hearts against those miserable out-casts, your slaves,—each of whom is endowed with an immortal soul—unspeakably precious—and like ourselves,—they are placed on probation for eternity.

Many of them, at least, as you know, are made to suffer in cruel and hopeless bondage—borne down beneath the burden of life—their earthly comforts few, and at the disposal of arbitrary masters, arrogating to themselves supreme control, not only over their persons, but over every other creature in whom their affections center; and above all, immuring their souls in darkness deep and midnight, upon which no day-star of life is permitted to dawn—no beam of hope to enter, that they may be cheered on their journey to that other land of which they vaguely dream.

How can we expect to escape judgment, as a nation, or enjoy prosperity as the people of God, if we forbear to cry aloud against the oppression under which our brethren groan? So sure as a righteous Judge sitteth on the throne of the universe, so surely will he avenge the wrongs which we vainly attempt to justify. When he maketh inquisition for blood, shall not judgment begin at the house of God?

Let us therefore labor together in this righteous cause, as those who must give account. The time is coming, when we, with those poor afflicted ones, shall stand before the judgment-seat of Christ. At that awful crisis, how shall we look upon those who have perished through our abuse, or neglect, and expect justification through that blood which was poured forth for all?

May God give us grace to discern and do his will, is the constant prayer of your sisters in the gospel.

By order of the board,
Mrs. H. STURGES, Cor. Secretary.

Hints to Epithet-loving Editors.

I SOMETIMES think, that one of the chief characteristics of the present generation is, a fondness for epithets. Our political editors and Washington correspondents especially, having learned that the peculiar attribute of genius is, to define with sun-light clearness, by a single expression, all the qualities of a subject, are continually putting forth mighty efforts, lest they should be supposed deficient in this felicitous attribute. Disdaining the humble drudgery of detailing specifications, illustrative of men and measures, never are they happier than when, by one or two choice words, they imagine they have labelled, in characters of immortality, any class of actors or system of operations. It is very fortunate for these editors and their correspondents, that the vocabulary of epithetism is at this time so abundantly replenished. If their own wits fail them, as is not unlikely, they can live on the fruits of other men's. For myself, however, I have a singular liking for originality; wherefore, I have been quite melancholy of late, at beholding the perplexity of these epithet-loving folks. They seem themselves to be half-conscious of having so long and often used the biting words, incendiary, fanatic, traitor, &c. &c., that they begin to grow vapid; somewhat like certain bitter roots, which have been masticated and sucked so much, as to become quite tasteless—flat. Having a sincere desire for the improvement of these willing, but weak talkers, I have concluded at last to commend to their notice the following thoughts, in Foster's essays. After mentioning his regret that the language of censure is so easy and undefined,—he proceeds:—It costs no labor and needs no intellect to pronounce the words, 'foolish,' 'dull,' 'stupid,' 'odious,' 'absurd,' 'ridiculous.' The weakest and most uncultivated mind may, therefore, gratify its vanity, laziness and malice all at once, by a prompt application of vague condemnatory words, where a wise and liberal man would not feel himself warranted to pronounce, without the most deliberate consideration, and where such consideration might perhaps terminate in applause. How many of our editors,—how many of their readers, have 'deliberately considered,' the doctrines and measures of abolition? Do not the blind lead the blind? A man who wishes some decency and sense to prevail in the circulation of opinions, will do well, when he hears these decisions of arrogant ignorance, to call for a precise application of the manner in which the terms apply to the subject? What a profitable ex-

ercise this would be for our editorial dignitaries! The reason and the mode of the application of such terms as fanatic, amalgamationist, ultraist, &c. might indeed puzzle them somewhat; still the community has a right to demand such information. I apprehend, however, that the epithets of these men are like their principles—all in the abstract.

But let us listen to our author. 'There is a competent number of words for this use of cheap censure; but though a man deems himself to be giving no mean proof of sagacity in this confident readiness to condemn, even with this impotence of language, he may, however, have a certain consciousness that there is, in some other minds, a keen dexterity which would find expressions to bite harder than the words, dull, stupid, and ridiculous,' (disorganizers, &c.) 'which he is repeating many times to compensate for the incapacity of hitting off the right thing at once. These vague epithets' (heavily mad, reckless,) 'describe nothing; discriminate nothing; they express no species; are as applicable to ten thousand things as to this one, and he has before employed them on a numberless diversity of subjects. But he can perceive that censure or contempt has the smartest effect, when its expressions have an appropriate peculiarity, which adapts them more precisely to the present subject than to another, and he is therefore not quite satisfied with the expressions which say "about it and about it," but do not say the thing itself, which rather show his mischievous will than mischievous power. He wants words and phrases which would make the edge of his clumsy meaning fall just where it ought. Yes, he wants words; for his meaning is sharp, he knows, if only the words would come.' If this had not been written some forty years ago, our editors might suppose us quite personal. 'Discriminative censure must be conveyed either in a sentence which expresses some marked and acute turn of thought, instead of simply applying an epithet, or in an epithet so specifically appropriate, that the single word is sufficient to fix the condemnation by the mere precision with which it describes.' The pro-slavery press incapable of either achievement, is willing, in the language of Foster, to seek some other resource. And it often finds it 'in cant terms, which have a more spiteful force, and seem to have more particularity of meaning than plain common words, without needing any shrewdness for their application. Each of these is supposed to denominate some one class or character of scorned or reprobated things, but leaves it so imperfectly defined, that dull malice may venture to assign to the class any thing, which it would desire to throw under the odium of the denomination.'

Our author proceeds to remark upon various cant terms invented by the malice of men, such as puritan, methodist, &c. Our opponents, so far, have been unable to apply to us a more potent term, than 'fanatic.' With this word as appended to us, let us connect the following thoughts in the essay:—'If there is no sense in the word as now applied, there seems, however, to be a great deal of aptitude and execution. It has the advantage of being comprehensive as a general denomination, and yet approbrious as a special badge, for every thing that ignorance and folly may mistake for fanaticism, or that malice may willfully assign to it. There is a satiric smartness in the word, though there be none in the man. In default of keen faculty in the mind, it is delightful thus to find something that will do as well, ready bottled up in odd terms.' * * * * 'Such terms have a pleasant facility of throwing away the matter in question to scorn, without any trouble of making a definite intelligible charge of extravagance or delusion, and attempting to prove it.'

Mr. Foster makes some remarks upon the application of the term Jacobinism; which we shall take the liberty of quoting in relation to the term fanaticism, and some other epithets so plentifully hurled at abolitionists. 'What a quantity of noisy calumny would have been quashed in dead silence, if it had been possible to enforce the substitution of statements and definitions for this unmeaning, vulgar, but efficacious term of reproach. What a number of persons have vented the superabundance of their fidelity' (to southern nobility) 'or their rancor,' (against the friends of human rights) 'by means of this and two or three similar words; who, if by some sudden lapse of memory they had lost these two or three words, and a few names of persons,' (such as the Tappans, the Wrights, the Smiths, &c.) 'would have looked round with an idiotic vacancy, totally at a loss, what was the subject of their anger or their approbation.' * * * * 'One here may catch a single glimpse of the policy of men of a superior class' ('gentlemen of property and standing') 'in employing these terms, as much as the vulgar, in order to keep them in active currency.' * * * * 'If a single word can be made the symbol of all that is absurd and execrable, so that the very sound of it shall irritate the passions of this ignorant and scorned multitude,' (scorned by their employers, men of standing and influence) 'as dogs have been taught to bark at the name of a neighboring tyrant, it is a commodious thing for managing these passions to serve the interests of those who despise, while they flatter, their duped auxiliaries.'

That I may be of some benefit to the pro-slavery press, I would commend to their notice the following definitions:—
Fanatic.—One who believes, that doing the commandments of God, can never harm the interests of an individual or a nation.
Ultraist.—One who believes, that all men owe to God immediate and entire obedience.
Incendiary.—One who is striving to avert from himself and his neighbors, the fire of God's vengeance in this world and in the next.
Beastly.—A word, characterizing the efforts of those, who are aiming to exalt two millions and a half of human beings, from the condition of beasts.
Disorganizers.—Those who are laboring to dry up the chief source of jealousy and discord between the northern and southern sections of the union.
Reckless.—A term applied to those who are more careful to please God than man.
Mad.—A term used to designate those who believe that our fathers were in earnest, when they declared all men to be born free and equal.

Philosopher.—One who believes that every evil should work its own cure without the interference of intelligence and volition—that death is the natural cure of disease—insurrection and extermination the wholesome crisis of slavery.
Christian.—One who believes that christianity should become all things to all men, and sanction every sin when upheld by law.
Patriot.—One, who loves gain more than God! and grieves more to lose in trade than lose his soul—who thinks the greatest of all evils is, the subver-

sion of a system, by which, whilst millions are ground to powder, he fattens.

Philanthropist.—One who hails the oppressor and spurns the oppressed—sheds tears for the tyrant and slanders the slave.

Conservative.—One who congregates the ignorance, corruption, licentiousness, brutality, and prejudice of a community, and directs them to the subversion of rights, bestowed by God, recognised by the constitution and guaranteed by laws.

Prudent.—A term applied to that man who believes that charity begins at home—that the main chance is the greatest chance, and that number one is the only number in moral arithmetic.

Wise.—An epithet applied to those, who believe the wisdom of God, foolishness; and think the only way to circumvent Satan and mend the world, is by human policy.

Ohio Anti-Slavery Annual Meeting.

The Executive Committee of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society give notice, that the annual meeting of said society will be held at Granville, on Wednesday, the 27th April next.

All local Anti-Slavery Societies in this state, whether auxiliary or not, are requested to send delegates.

On their arrival at Granville, delegates will have places assigned them, by calling on Doct. W. W. Bancroft.

The Executive Committee most earnestly request ALL local societies, who have not reported, to do so, immediately, giving,—

1st. Name of Society, date of organization, and members.

2d. Names of Secretary, President, and their post-office direction.

3d. Number of Anti-Slavery publications circulated, and other matters of general interest to the cause.

The committee also suggest to the local Societies, the propriety of their becoming auxiliary to the state Society.

They think too, that the time has fully come, when Ohio should not only furnish the means for carrying forward the cause at home, but should aid the parent Society, who have heretofore defrayed the whole expense of agencies in this state. It is therefore recommended, that delegates be instructed, as to the amount, which their respective Societies are willing to give in aid of the State Society's operations the ensuing year.

By order of the Executive Committee,
LEVI WHIPPLE, Chairman.

A. A. GUTHRIE, Cor. Sec. O. A. S. S.

Putnam, March 7th, 1836.

All papers friendly to the cause of emancipation, it is trusted, will give the above a few insertions.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

NEW RICHMOND, OHIO, MARCH 25, 1836.

The Cincinnati Preamble and Resolutions.

NUMBER VI.

TO JOHN C. WRIGHT, Esq.—

There is abundant pride, with its usual concomitant, deficient circumspection, displaying itself in the public acts of the free-state supporters of slavery, which have been intended to operate on the community, unfavorably to those who are persuading the south to cease from her unfeeling 'system.' After having witnessed the commercial and aristocratic obsequiousness of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—besides many other cities of smaller note—ready to follow in their wake;—after having seen the errors of their ill-judged and practical 'doings' examined, and exposed naked to the world in all their odious deformity, it was to be expected that the 'GREAT ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING' OF THIS CITY, led on by its 'gentlemen of respectability and intelligence,'—by its Judges, its Merchants, its Lawyers, its Divines, its Physicians, and its most respectable tradesmen and artisans of every class—with their corp de reserve of 'Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and members of almost every religious denomination,' would have profited by the failures of their eastern abettors, and have exercised more than usual caution. But, no: the Charleston railroad was before your eyes—McDuffism was the rage—its supposed strength in the south banished from your minds all recollection of the disasters of its friends in the north, and

'Through thick and thin
You plunged in,'

and succeeded, beyond all controversy, in showing a strength of affection for the institutions of slavery at the south, and a boldness of contempt for the institutions of freedom at the north, that entitle you not only to legions of honors, but to the advanced station of the elite in the great modern army of Preamble and Resolution warriors against constitutional rights.

Has it ever occurred to you, sir, that there is no sound argument in an unsound cause? If, in supporting a bad cause, a position be taken which seems good, the thorough probing of a competent adversary can always reach its unsoundness, and expose the leaven of vice which makes the whole vicious. Should the position not only seem good, but in reality be good—the same penetration can demonstrate, that it has no proper application to the case in which it is used. Truth and error, I know, may be so ingeniously intertwined as to seem to be united, to be growing together.—Cunning devices may hide from the inexperienced view their points of contact—may varnish over their articulations—yet they can, never, be made actually to coalesce. Their natures are, radically, different—and when the body they jointly form, receives a shock, they will as readily, as iron and clay, fall asunder.

By what strange want of foresight—by what blundering fatuity was it, that you ever ventured on such a resolution as this—

'That in the opinion of this meeting, it is not expedient for Congress to adopt a course of legislation for the District of Columbia, by which the citizens thereof will be deprived of the right of property in their slaves; which right, we believe, is secured to them by the constitution and laws of the land.'

Here, not having your cue, you make a concession to the cause of freedom for which your slaveholding friends will return you but scanty thanks. Whilst they, by their well compacted efforts were dragging Congress—(and we were at one time, fearful, they would succeed) to pronounce a foul and fraudulent interpretation of their powers over slavery in the District, you were here, unconsciously, no doubt, in your too friendly and officious services giving their cause a deep stab, in conceding to Congress the power to abolish it. It is, I trust, doing you no injustice to say, at this stage of the question, that you con-

cede to Congress the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia when you make your appeal to that body on the sole ground of the inexpediency of such action.

If I had not examined, in a former number, the position so generally assumed by slaveholders and their allies,—that the constitution has, in an especial manner, guaranteed to the south their claim of property in their fellow-creatures, I would demand of you the proof of such guarantee. You know, sir, that the present constitution was made with these as leading objects—'TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE' and 'TO SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR PROPERTY'—whilst it did not permit its form to be marred by the word, SLAVE, or SLAVERY. There is, in my judgment, no such guarantee—none was ever thought necessary in the formation of the constitution, inasmuch as the property in every state was exclusively and sufficiently protected, or guaranteed, by the state-laws. The states, I apprehend, would never have consented—nay, they would indignantly have rejected the offer of a guarantee of any of the property within their limits, on the part of the federal government.

To detain you on this point but a moment longer—where is there, as far as the District of Columbia is concerned, any evidence of a special guarantee of property in slaves? None—more than there is in houses or town lots, or land in the country—all of which may be taken, on certain conditions, for the public benefit. Nor is there any protection offered for slave property which may not fairly be claimed for the slave trade within the District. Indeed, a guarantee, such as is insisted on, for slavery, is to all intents and purposes a guarantee of the slave trade. They are on perfect terms of equality—*par nobile fratrium*—there is no difference. Touch one, and a sympathetic response is heard from the other. If Congress cannot touch slavery in the District, directly—it cannot touch it indirectly, through the trade which is in its life. Forbid men to sell their brethren, and you give the death-blow to slavery. If slavery is too sacred to be touched, so is the slave trade—and are you willing, sir, to see this commerce in blood, continued among us even for another day—and to grow up into full-sized aristocratic respectability, as it will if continued—in our land? I will not do your humanity such violence, as to suppose you have discerned, or that you would approve, such a consequence, however legitimate, of your own principles.

And do really think, sir, that Congress—possessing the power, as you have conceded, to abolish slavery, ought never to exert it? Can it be, that any one, of your intelligence and humanity, is the advocate of everlasting oppression? It would seem almost incredible. Yet, on your own principles, the oppression of slavery in the District, must be everlasting. You maintain, it should be undisturbed, because, one portion of the inhabitants have a right to hold the other as property. Will not this right always remain a right? If so, will not the reason for not disturbing slavery be as strong a hundred years hence as it is now? The right, at that time, according to the slaveholding catchism, will be even stronger and more undiminished, because of the venerableness of its age, and of the multiplication of its subjects.

Had you poured in this drop of mercy—that, from the public treasury, compensation should be made to the slaveholder, for losing his grasp on his poor brother, it would have been some relief to the ferocious spirit of the resolution. But there is not even this—you go the whole 'to satisfy your friends of the south.' You do this—you who live under a constitution which has impressed on the despotism of slavery in every form, its sternest condemnation—you who live, and move, and prosper, in the freedom it secures to you—who are reaping daily its enjoyments, and rejoicing in the honors, the riches, the fame it holds up as the reward of honorable effort—who behold your friends, your relatives, your wife, your children—all, free as the air they breathe, and happy as virtue can make them—who fear, for them, nothing from the kidnapper or the manstealer, or from those who sustain his wicked trade—you,—I repeat it,—you, thus living, thus enjoying—in the presence of God, who showers on you these bounties, of Angels who rejoice to see you happy in their freedom, in the House of JUSTICE in the very Temple of EQUITY, proclaim, that slavery, the concrete of human misery—the Nadir of human degradation—ought to be perpetuated in the thousands now subjected to its inflictions, and in the ten thousand times ten thousand, yet to open their eyes to its horrors and to close them in its despair.

And all this—according to the unblushing bulletin of one of your own organs, has been brought about, because, 'southern feeling is too strong in this city,'—because 'the interests of her merchants, her capitalists, and her tradesmen, are so [too] deeply interwoven with the southern country,'—because 'commercial and social intercourse between her citizens and the citizens of the south-western states are too intimate.' What, sir, distinguishes 'southern feeling' from 'northern feeling'? Slavery.—What is there of peculiarity in the interests of our 'merchants, capitalists and tradesmen,' who are connected with the south? It is, that these interests live and flourish on the sweat and blood of oppression.—What is there of such singular attraction—of such irresistibly magnetic influence in the 'social intercourse between our citizens and those of the south-west'? It is the nabobism—the voluptuous indolence—the aristocratic magisterialness of the south—springing up in the hot-bed of slavery, and watered by the tears of its victims—it is this—yes sir, I say, it is this, and nothing but this—compared with the sober honesty of free men's toil—with the unambitious simplicity of republican intercourse—and the equalizing influence, the levelling strike of republican institutions,—that invests the south with such winning charms, such captivating loneliness in the eyes of her special friends here, as to impel them to a mighty effort to throw into her lap, and entrust to the justice, to the tenderness of her guardianship, all that she asks, and all that she deems necessary, to reduce us and our children (if they should be but poor) under her mild, her gentle and indulgent sceptre.

Better would it be, sir, that this 'southern feeling' should be quenched; that these 'interests' should seek some other direction; that 'social intercourse' with our slaveholding neighbors should forever terminate, than that one atom of republican principle or republican practice be offered up as the price of their continuance. Better, that our majestic steamers rot, in idleness, at our wharves; that we wade as our fathers did, forever through the mud of Kentucky and Tennessee and through the sands of the Carolinas, to drive an encumbered commerce with the south;—better, far better would it be, that our great railroad should never hear the laugh and the joke of the merry car—or feel the pressure of its golden freight; that it should be sunk into the bosom of the earth—remain a gaping chasm—a standing monument of Heaven's hatred of slavery, than that one particle of our free spirit be torn

from us and transferred to the south, to be extinguished in the miasmata of oppression, or one particle of her slaveholding spirit wafted here, to pollute our healthful and life-giving atmosphere.

I urge you, sir, and others who without sufficient consideration, may have acted with you in your late anti-slavery assault on free principles, to review what you have done—and if convinced that the cause of freedom has been wounded—turn, turn speedily, and administer the only remedy in your power—a candid, a magnanimous confession of your error. It is not to 'glory over' you, that I beseech you to do this,—but that your handsome powers—your effectual energies may find their own place in the wide field of Liberty and Humanity, and large employment in their 'magnificent and awful cause.'

Andrews on Slavery.

We re-publish from the *Landmark*, in another column of this paper, an article bearing the title we have prefixed to this. We apprehend, the judicious and independent editor of that journal had not given the subject, to which his remarks mainly apply, his usually mature consideration. If he had, he would scarcely have ventured we think, at this day, to say—'Light is what is now wanted—well authenticated facts—touching this great national evil [slavery] before we can act intelligently and safely in removing it.' Can it be, that any one—however ignorant he may have been before—who, within the last five years has desired information, and has not acquired an amount sufficient for its utter condemnation? If facts are still wanting, even among the best informed, to excite them to action—of course, 'intelligent' action—where is the foundation for the guilt and the shame which the free states have been so willing and, as we think, so justly, to take to themselves for their long and cruel delay?

Let us try our conduct, by the rules we observe in other cases—about the correctness of which we entertain no doubt. When we are told, that the Turkish Sultan has, congregated in his harem for the gratification of his own voluptuousness and lust, some two or three hundred females,—we do not, before forming an intelligent judgment of his guilt, send to Constantinople a deputation, to report, how these degraded and unhappy victims of power and passion are treated—how much time they have for relaxation—how they are fed—how vigilantly they are guarded—and what enjoyments they possess, consistently with their state of imprisonment and subservience;—nor do we inquire how much the Sultan may have been corrupted by such a 'system'—to what degree it has defiled the national purity, and debased the standard of public morality. No: we do nothing of this kind, but pronounce the whole matter an iniquity, which can produce nothing but evil, and that it ought, at once, to be broken up. If any one—we mean any one who tests his principles and his arguments by the rule of rectitude—were to say to us that such a system ought to be gradually forsaken—that no intelligent opinion could be formed in relation to the propriety of its immediate cessation, till more months or years had been wasted in accumulating proofs of its enormity,—we would conclude the man was insane or else intended to mock us.

We hesitate not to form an opinion of the high-handed tyranny of Louis Philippe—nor to deal out—and with no stinted liberality—our condemnation of his infamous assault on the Liberty of the Press and of Speech. This we do, too, without despatching, from among the best of our citizens, an envoy to Paris or Lyons, to Marseilles or Bordeaux,—to collect information, as to the identical degree to which the mercury of despotism, or the fever of its victims, has risen. No one charges himself with uncharitable judgment in condemning the tyrant—nor with injudicious sympathy in pitying the oppressed.

Before the Catholic emancipation act, we abused, in no measured terms, our mother-country for an oppressive domination over some millions of her Irish subjects. We do it, still—we yet attribute to her injustice, much of the distress and suffering of the Irish poor; we condemn, and justly, too, her tyrannical system—her connexion of Church and State—and yet no one thinks it at all demanded of us, to send a commission to Ireland, to ascertain, whether it is by the surrender of his only cow—or of his last pig or of his remaining bushel of potatoes, or by what form of starvation his family is perishing, in order, that the poor Irishman may contribute to the support of a clergyman whom he would think it *heresy* (and, in many instances, no wonder) to hear. Nothing of this kind is thought necessary to lead us to a highly satisfactory belief, that the tie which binds the church in the suffocating folds of the state—and enables her cruel and unnatural partner in her name, to play such tricks as make the angels weep,—ought to be at once and forever sundered.

We call Nicholas of Russia a bloody and relentless tyrant. We lament, we weep, over the heart-broken Poles. And yet we do not think it an indispensable preliminary, to branding him with a name of infamy, or, to pouring out our sympathies for the poor and perishing of his land, that we should have fresh details of the *Knots*—that we should know whether one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty blows (the highest number ever inflicted, and generally fatal) is now in common use; whether, as formerly, the nose is slit, the ears cut off, or a *W*, (the Russian initial for *rogue*) cut in the forehead, and made indelible by rubbing in gunpowder—or whether all this—should the sufferer survive—is crowned with banishment to Siberia. No: we pronounce, that the whole, or any part of it, is horrible, murderous, intolerable—that the power which can be thus abused ought, immediately, to be beaten down, and we are almost ready to call for fire from heaven to blast the wretch who uses it for the perpetration of such devilish cruelty.

In all these cases, where oppression exists in other lands, it is enough only to hear of it, to rouse our indignation against the oppressor. For the oppressed we have hearts, to pity—eyes, to weep.

We will vow proceeds to put down some of the items of information, showing what grounds we have—when compared with those existing in other cases—for forming an intelligent opinion on the subject of American slavery. We know—

1. That the enslaved among us are men and women—moral and accountable beings as we are—and possess the same susceptibilities of happiness, that we do.

2. That, for their physical education and comfort—as a general thing—no provision is made, further than, what may be incidental to, the most effectual training of them for the labors of the field.

3. That, for their mental development, not only, no provision is made by those who hold them in bondage—but that all other persons are forbidden to make any, at the peril of their lives.

4. We know, that there is making, no systematic effort, to any extent worthy of being mentioned, to bring them under the influence of religious truth. Thousands of

them die every year, without ever having heard of the name of Jesus—except from the lips of those who use it in cursings and execration.

5. We know, the slaves are set down as *heathen*—not by those who dwell remotely from them—but by large and well informed christian denominations residing among them.

6. We know, that there are many who have had favorable opportunities for thorough observation of the moral effects of slavery on its victims, who do not believe, that christian truth can ever be, to any considerable extent, successfully impressed upon them, so long as they feel themselves spoiled, by men called Christians, of every right that christianity commands us to respect.

So far then, as happiness here and the hope of it hereafter, are dependent on a proper cultivation of our physical, intellectual and moral nature, the slaves of our country may be said to be an exceedingly unhappy people.

7. We know, too, that the laws of the states in which slavery exists, recognize and protect none of the relations, that contribute, among us, so much to happiness. The slave codes would not inform an intelligent inquirer, who knew nothing of slaves from any other source, that there were among them, brothers and sisters—husbands and wives—mothers and fathers, and daughters and sons.

8. We know, as a general thing, they are scantily fed and clothed—especially in those parts of the country where both food and clothing are purchased from abroad.

9. We know, they are often made to labor beyond their powers of endurance, and that, there is great destruction of life from this cause.

10. We know, that all the profits of their labor are taken by the master.

11. We know, that they are whipped at the discretion of the master, or of his agent,—often with great severity, and sometimes till they die under the lash.

12. We know, that they are liable to be taken from humane masters for the payment of debts, and to be sold to the most cruel, if they be the highest bidders.

13. We know, that they are as much a subject of merchandise, as the cotton, or the sugar, or the hemp, or the tobacco, which they cultivate and prepare for market.

14. We know, it is not an uncommon thing for them to be bought and seized on by professional traffickers in human beings, and in an instant hurried away from wives, and husbands, and brothers, and sisters, and fathers, and mothers—thrown into the common prisons of the country, till a coffin is made up, and then marched, chained, along the high ways of this christian land—whilst sometimes they are inflamed with liquor, and made to sing to the accompaniment of military music, the national songs, under the animation of which our revolutionary fathers successfully struggled for the liberty we abuse.

15. We know it corrupts the whites—invites to the gratification of lust—educates aristocratical and anti-republican tempers—that it is a practical denial of the great truths on which our government was intended to be built; that, thus living down our own principles, whilst slavery is growing up to the size and strength of a giant, and affording new proof every day of the irrepressibility of its tendencies to spasmodic dissolution, we are laying up for our posterity, if not for ourselves, the mournful spectacle of the freest government on earth lying in ruins.

The list might be swelled to a vast and frightful number. If any society of respectable and intelligent men among us intend no action, till they have sounded the 'lowest deep' of slavery, we despair of seeing them engaged with us in saving our country from impending ruin. There is, let us say to them, yet, 'a lower deep,' than any they can sound.

These remarks are offered in no ill spirit against the editor of the *Landmark*. We are sure, he will not so consider them. Nor out of any disrespect for the *American Union*—or for Prof. Andrews, with whom we have the pleasure of a personal acquaintance, and for whom we entertain no common personal regard. They are written with a hope that they may, in some small measure, contribute to produce in the estimable gentlemen of that association, a conviction that it is high time that their commanding influence should be exerted in action, and not unprofitably wasted in collecting superabundant materials, already prepared and ready for their use.

The Western Christian Advocate.

EXCHANGED with us till, a few days since—when our carrier was told—as he informs us—by its editor, that he need not bring any more of our numbers to his office. At this course we could not but feel some surprise. We had no recollection of saying aught against this journal—nor did we anticipate any occasion when it might become necessary to do so. We have, now, no knowledge of any cause for this unkind conduct on the part of a professedly religious print—one of the authorized organs too, of the most numerous christian denomination in the country—unless it was, our having republished with commendation, the very delicate rebuke by Zion's Herald (also a Methodist paper) of the Western Methodist of Nashville, because the latter had pronounced 'good' on Mr. Speight's note to Arthur Tappan—in which note Mr. S., losing sight of the decorum belonging to the station he occupies as a member of Congress, enclosed to Mr. T. a piece of rope, as a testimony of his high regard for his neck.

We had thought proper, also, to expose the very reprehensible manner in which our paper had been returned to us, by this same Western Methodist, with unmanly and uncharitable inscriptions on the margin, as applicable to John Wesley as to the editor of the Philanthropist. In our remarks, we were led to show, how widely the Western Methodist, and the denomination it represented had departed, on the subject of slavery, from the doctrines of their great founder. We know of no other cause, which could have persuaded Mr. Morris to act as he has, toward the Philanthropist—for we had not then republished Mr. Maffitt's recommendation of a (Methodist) paper he is publishing at Natchez—in which he places his claims for patronage, in some measure, on the assurance, that he will in the conduct of it, recognize the right of one man to hold property in another.

If we had heeded christian rebuke or admonition in the management of the Philanthropist, we would have received it in good spirit from Mr. Morris. We wish he would reconsider this matter, and come to what, we think, would have been John Wesley's notion about it,—unless he had been converted from his horrors of Methodist Episcopacy to an ambition for its honors.

Mr. Clay.

It is with a keen sensation of pleasure—almost of delight,—that we see this gentleman boldly defending the right of his countrymen to petition Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and asserting the constitutional power of that body to accede to

their requests.—In despite of Mr. C's recent colonization speech, in which, as reported by a writer in Washington, he said many things that every friend of liberty is bound to rebuke—yet, we will not give up all hope of him in the great struggle that is to succeed the present skirmishes.

Mr. C. has almost in his own power the peaceful abolition of slavery. Let him come out as the advocate of emancipation, and Kentucky can be divorced from her growing connexion with the slavery of the south—a connexion which if it remain unbroken, is soon to stifle her noble energies—pollute her forever, and bring on her the shame and the sorrow and the desolation of those who sell the bodies and souls of their poor and perishing brethren.

But no more 'compromises.' The Missouri compromise was a disastrous one. Liberty was befooled and gained nothing. It added vigor to oppression, and is the main reason, why Slavery in the existing struggle pours forth such strong and copious streams of venom, and writhes with such sinewy and demoniac fury.

If Mr. C. wishes enduring fame, he must lay its foundation in the hearts of men. No support however able of a temporary policy, of a mere pecuniary interest, will confer on its advocate lasting and honorable fame. To secure this, something must be done for LIBERTY, for HUMANITY,—something that posterity shall feel. The fame of Fox and Pitt will soon be jostled from every other foundation, to become fixed, on their fearless uplifting of Human Rights, down-trodden in the despised African.

The God of the oppressed now presents for Mr. Clay's acceptance honors that we hope to see take root in Time, and bear their glorious fruit throughout Eternity.

American Slave Trade.

In a single number, (Feb. 26,) the Southern Telegraph, a paper published at Rodney, Miss., there are advertised for sale—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 2 Negro men | by Samuel Mackey, Admr. |
| 1 do. (runaway) for jail fees, | by C. Murray, Jailr. |
| 67 do. do | " Elias Bass, |
| 1 Negro girl, 10 or 11 years old | " C. Murray, Adm. |
| 4 'Strong fellows,' | " E. C. Fitzhugh, |
| 50 'Likely Negroes,' | " John Briscoe, |
| 14 'Likely Negroes,' | " A. Hamberlin, |
| 30 | Charles Clark, |
| | by Robert Dixon, |
| | B. M. Markham, } Admsr. |

In the same paper there is a reward offered for a runaway woman—2 notices, that runaway men have been committed to jail—2 applications for overseerships, and 3 advertisements for overseers.

In a preceding number of the same paper, besides a fair proportion of the same character, there is the following evidence of the 'happy and contented' condition of the slaves:—

- Ran away from the plantation of James Surgette, the following negroes, viz:—
- Randal, about 27 years of age, yellow complexion, heavy set, and has had one ear cropped.
- Bob, about 20 or 22 years of age, slim built, yellow complexion, and has lost one eye.
- Cato, about 18 or 20 years of age, black, and heavy set.
- Bush, about 40 years of age, black, heavy set, and is an African.
- Kentucky Tom, about 30 years of age, yellow complexion, one jaw broken, and is somewhat swelled.
- George, about 35 years of age, yellow complexion.
- Nelly, (George's wife,) about 23 or 24 years of age, tall and rather bright complexion.—She took her female child with her.
- Finey, (Bush's wife) about 30 years of age, tall and black.—She took with her a small boy named Jack.
- Harriet, about 20 or 22 years of age, black and stout built.
- Sarah, (Randal's wife) about 25 or 30 years of age, black complexion, small and weakly.
- They crossed the river about five miles below Rodney in company with three negro men that said they belonged to some person about Natchez.
- Seven of the above named negroes had on new blanket coats when they went away. The other three, left several weeks before. Seven of them started on the night of the 20th instant; but they all crossed on the Louisiana side of the river together.

F. L. C. EDWARDS,

As Manager for

JAMES SURGETTE.

Sept. 25, 1835.

The Vicksburg Register and Port Gibson Correspondent, will give the above three insertions, and forward their accounts to this office.

[Evidence also of their patriarchal treatment, may be found in the cropped ears, the deficient eyes, and the broken jaws, &c.]

The Post-Office Department—Again.

From a friend in the state of New York, we have just received the following:—

'Do tell me, what in the world is the reason, that your papers all drift up in the mail. The *Standard and Democrat* (at Utica, to which paper we have regularly from the commencement directed ours,) has received but one—and generally, east of the mountains they have not been received.—Many more would subscribe, if there was any certainty that it would be received.'

With such things are we greeted every week—especially from distant subscribers. We very carefully mail our papers to all subscribers; yet, in the same letter from which the above is taken, we have the name of an original subscriber, to whom it has been sent, transmitted to us as a subscriber, again. We suppose, of course, he has received none of the numbers. This is too bad. We are charged with full postage, and pay with entire punctuality no small amount of it, to the support of the Post-Office Department; yet we are denied, because our opinions do not coincide with those of some of its officers, a just return of its benefits. Our papers, we have every reason to believe, are either detained or destroyed between this city and the points of their destination. So far from supposing, there is the least official unfairness in relation to them in the Cincinnati Post-Office, we doubt not, they are mailed here with the same punctuality as other papers.

Every abuse of this kind to which the advocacy of the truth is exposing abolitionists, so far from discouraging, should be a summons to renewed exertions, to bring the truth into full predominance—to install her in her sovereign office.

New Publication.

A work entitled 'Slavery at the South. The South Vindicated from the Treason and Fanaticism of the Northern Abolitionists,' is advertised for sale in Kentucky. Why do not our Cincinnati booksellers keep such works as well as those they are intended to counteract? They would sell well, there is no doubt. We want to have both sides fairly heard.

To Correspondents.

We received, in due course of mail, a communication from a valued friend in Indiana, and addressed to A. C. We have given to the propriety of publishing it, longer consideration than he will very probably suppose it required. We shall retain it a few days longer for still further consideration—though, we lean so strongly to the publication of it, that the writer may send us his other numbers.

Our doubt is here—it is addressed to an individual, and gives some ground for the supposition that we deem it important to the success of the cause of freedom, that the 'adhesion' of any man, however distinguished and influential he may be, is necessary to its success. We would have no one to join us except in principle—not would we have any to think, we cannot do without him. Let our correspondent remember to 'be courteous.'

We have on hand many other communications which we have not yet had time to examine with that care which should precede their publication or omission.

We wish all correspondents to remember, that it is for the great cause of liberty and humanity we have our paper; and not that they may have an opportunity of writing and publishing their opinions to the world. All essays that are not deemed auxiliary to the advancement of this cause will be omitted.

Correction.

In our ninth number, we re-published a brief historical sketch, taken from an authorized publication of the *Reformed Presbyterian Church* in this country, stating the manner in which slavery was exterminated from that church. By an oversight, for which we can scarcely excuse ourselves, we put down this noble proceeding to the credit of the *Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church*.

Will any of our friends correct us, if we be in error, when we state that the last mentioned church has done the same thing within the last three or four years?

A Lecture on Abolition.

Was delivered last evening, at Felicity, fourteen miles from New Richmond. It was well attended by a most patient and attentive audience of ladies and gentlemen. There were a few additions to the anti-slavery society of that place (now numbering 62.)—among them a young gentleman, the holder of several slaves. He is not yet of age so that he can legally manumit them. A noble example this for other young gentlemen similarly situated.

Anti-Slavery Publications.

THE Muskingum Anti-Slavery Society have ordered from New York a considerable quantity of our publications—which, it is expected, will arrive in time to supply the Delegates who may attend the Anniversary at Granville.

Editorial Correspondence.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.—From a friend in New York who is well acquainted with the Anti-Slavery office there,—dated March 8.—'You have but little idea of the increase of the business of this (the Anti-Slavery) Office, within six months past. More than ten thousand copies of our various periodical publications have been taken up by voluntary cash subscribers within that time. And subscribers are daily pouring in from all quarters at the rate of more than a thousand per month. Besides there is an increasing demand for gratuitous distribution.

A slaveholder has recently paid us between 60 and 70 dollars for anti-slavery books, pamphlets, tracts, papers, &c., which he has extensively distributed in the slave states. If we cannot get agents in the north, the Lord will send them from the south—and money too! If the post-office is closed against us, the God of the oppressed will open some other door, through which our publications and our principles will find access, and do their work in spite of the slaveholders and their allies. Yes, brother B. our cause is of God, and ere long, by his blessing, we shall achieve a glorious victory over every foe to the 'inalienable rights' of man.'

Just from Utica,—dated Rochester, New York, March 7.—'More than twelve hundred names were signed to a memorial to Congress, constituting as is believed, a majority of the legal voters of the city! Let us praise God for signally blessing his truth. Is it not a glorious triumph of truth over falsehood, of reason over passion, of righteousness over expediency, of liberty over despotism, of holiness over sin! And such a triumph in Utica! The theatre of the October mob! Sixteen lectures to crowded and delighted audiences, in the very house from which the state convention was forcibly driven! You will recollect that Hon. Silas Wright, of New York, recently declared in the United States Senate, that 'public sentiment was sound on the abolition question at Utica,—never more sound than at present, &c.' For once the honorable senator has spoken the truth on this subject,—though perhaps unintentionally. Utica is sound—sound to the core. There was not the slightest disturbance during the course of brother Weld's lectures. Our Utica friends have resolved to enlarge the *Standard and Democrat*, and make it a thorough abolition paper. They have called our fellow-laborer William Goodell, to the editorial chair. He will probably accept it.'

MISCELLANEOUS.

Andrews on Slavery.

A book has just been published by Light & Stearns, Boston, on the subject of slavery and the domestic slave trade in the United States. It is by Prof. E. A. Andrews, of Boston, and consists of a series of letters, written by him to the Executive Committee of the 'American Union for the relief and improvement of the colored race.' Mr. Andrews is a member of that executive committee, and during the last summer, he visited by the request of his associates, the states of Maryland and Virginia, and the District of Columbia, for the express purpose of obtaining correct information in regard to the condition of the colored free and enslaved population in those portions of the country; it being the prominent object of the 'American Union' to obtain and publish such information. The volume now published is the result of his observations and inquiries, and as such we regard it as an important publication. We have perused it with very great interest and satisfaction, and we propose to notice its contents somewhat in detail—not with any critical intention of reviewing its sentiments, but with a view to aid in its design of placing before the public the very interesting information which it contains on a subject which now agitates, and will continue to agitate, the public mind, till some definite and permanent measure for the relief of the colored race, and the abolition of slavery, is carried into effect.

In doing this, our main object will be to present, as briefly as possible, the facts the author's labors have brought to light, and which have an essential bearing upon the great, the difficult—yea, the delicate—subject of domestic slavery. With the author's inferences from these facts, and with his sen-

timents generally upon the subject, we shall have generally less to do. Light is what is now wanted—well authenticated facts—touching this great national evil, before we can act intelligently and safely in removing it. Nobody will deny that serious obstacles are to be overcome, in order to bring about the abolition of slavery, and it is only in the clearest light that we can proceed with any hope of success. We most heartily approve of the design of the American Union to elicit facts, and aid us that we may walk in the light of truth. We shall cheerfully add our mite to their efforts, by aiding to disseminate these facts and enlighten the path; and we would declare our firm belief, that every step which is thus taken will expose to view new evils of slavery, and bring nearer and nearer the day of deliverance to the captive.

Mr. Andrews's first four letters are written from New Haven, New York, and Philadelphia, and describe merely his purpose in undertaking the journey, the sentiments of the people in those places in regard to a remedy for slavery, the condition of the free blacks, &c. In the second, he thus describes an interview with a distinguished abolitionist:—

'His whole conversation left upon my mind an impression of the deepest interest, on his part, in this unfortunate class of our fellow citizens, and a readiness to aid in any proper measure, which, in his view, is likely to relieve them. Indeed, along acquaintance with his principles and views, not only authorizes but requires me to declare, that in genuine benevolence of heart, and in all the varied acts of beneficence, by which kindness can manifest itself to the poor, the ignorant, and the unfortunate, there is no man, in the whole length and breadth of the land, that can claim pre-eminence over the individual of whom I have now the honor and the pleasure to speak, and who needs, in an intelligent and pious community, no other designation than this, that among American christians he has long been distinguished as first in every good work. To those who have been so forward in reproaching him for the part he has taken in relation to African slavery, I may be allowed to say, while holding opinions upon this important subject, essentially different from his, that for the relief of human suffering, and the enlightening of human ignorance, the entire contributions made by some wealthy states, where his name is the theme of daily reproach, would scarcely equal the numerous, unostentatious, but noble benefactions of ARTHUR TAPPAN.'

The ten succeeding letters are from Baltimore, and bring us into a slave state. The author states that an intelligent member of the Methodist church gave it as his opinion that the condition of the free blacks in Maryland is much worse than that of the slaves, and as a proof of it, alleged the number of deaths among them to be much greater than in any other class of society. The author very properly suggests by way of explanation to this fact, that a very prominent cause of the degradation of the free blacks, is not their own freedom, but the slavery of others. We quote his remarks:—

'The owners of slaves of course look with jealousy and suspicion upon the free, and may often pursue towards them such a course as is calculated to depress and discourage them. They are interested in making it appear that freedom is no blessing, and they have, to some extent, the power to prevent its becoming so. If slavery were universally abolished, at that moment the free black would become valuable. He would take his place in the field with his comrades, as one of a company of hired laborers. He would be encouraged to industry, and laws would be enacted to promote his welfare and happiness. With such a change in his circumstances, who does not perceive that a corresponding change in his character is likely to occur?'

There is a general aversion, Mr. Andrews says, among the colored people, both bond and free, to African colonization; and but one opinion among all classes—the slaves probably excepted—respecting immediate emancipation.

The number of slaves in Maryland in 1830, was 102,994. In 1820, there were 111,503; the diminution having been occasioned by manumission and removal through the operations of the slave trade. The free colored population has increased, being now 52,938. A little more than a third of the whole population is colored. More than one fourth of all the free blacks in the state reside in Baltimore, while less than one fifth part of the slaves reside there.

The mortality is greater among the free than the slave population. From an examination of the records of the Board of Health, the author states, that the proportion of deaths annually among the slaves is nearly as 1 to 44; among the whites 1 to 38; free colored 1 to 39. 'Thus the chances for life in Baltimore are in favor of the slaves. This comparison, it will be observed, relates only to the city of Baltimore, where there are probably few other slaves than house servants, who are kept in habits of regular exercise and temperance; while the free blacks are most unfavorably situated, in all respects, for the preservation of health. They are represented as indolent, and exposed to all the vices which spring from sloth; yet particularly free from the controlling influence of malevolent passions, and seldom guilty of acts of outrage and violence. We must close the present notice with an extract on the subject of the domestic slave-trade, no considerable part of which, as the author was credibly informed, is still carried on in Baltimore in an indirect circuitous manner.

'The productions of Kentucky, and of other western states; their horses, mules, cattle, and swine, are driven into the Atlantic states, where they are often exchanged for young negroes, which are taken to the west, and there sold either to slave dealers from the south, or to the people of Kentucky and the other western states. In the latter case the Kentuckian probably sells to the southern trader an older and more valuable slave, and pockets the difference in the value. In this way, such slaves especially as happen to be disliked by their masters, are sent out of the state, and their places supplied by younger ones, who, when they have attained to their full strength, will perhaps follow in the same path. Family ties are often disregarded in this traffic. The slave obtained by barter in Virginia, is perhaps so young as to have formed no matrimonial connexion; out these carried to the south are often separated from wives and children. The south-western trader wants only those slaves who will be immediately serviceable upon the cotton and sugar plantations. Young children, therefore, are for his purpose of no value. The object of the planter is to get as much labor as possible from his slaves; and when they fail, he chooses to supply their places by purchasing fresh hands from the north. If deprived of this foreign supply, he would perceive the necessity of paying more regard to the lives of his slaves, and of making greater efforts for raising their children.'

The Cincinnati Anti-Slavery Society.

WILL hold its regular quarterly meeting on the first Tuesday (5th) of April, at the dwelling house of Dr. Isaac Colby, on Broadway. Beside discussions of some of the topics connected with slavery, there will be business of importance for the society to transact. Delegates will be appointed to attend the anniversary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society—and it will be considered, what aid shall be given to the operations of the State Society, &c. The usual invitations will be given by the members to such as may be desirous of partaking in the discussions, or of being present at the meeting generally.

Notice to all whom it may concern.

ALL persons having accounts against the Office of the PHILANTHROPIST, are requested to call and present them immediately.

New Richmond, March 25, 1836.

POETRY.

Remember the Slave.

FROM MRS. CHILD'S OASIS.

MOTHER! when around your child
You clasp your arms in love,
And when with grateful joy you raise
Your eyes to God above,—

Think of the negro mother, when
Her child is torn away,
Sold for a little slave,—oh then
For the poor mother pray!

Father! when'er your happy boys
You look upon with pride,
And pray to see them, when you're old
All blooming by your side,—

Think of that father's wither'd heart,
The father of a slave,
Who asks a pining God to give
His little son a grave.

Brothers and sisters! who with joy
Meet round the social hearth,
And talk of home and happy days,
And laugh in careless mirth,—

Remember too the poor young slave
Who never felt your joy;
Who early old, has never known
The bliss to be a boy.

O Christians! ministers of him
Who came to make men free,
When at the Almighty Maker's throne
You bend the suppliant knee,—

From the deep fountains of your soul
Then let your prayers ascend,
For the poor slave, who hardly knows
That God is still his friend.

Let all who know that God is just,
That Jesus came to save,
Unite in the most holy cause
Of the forsaken slave.

Stanzas.

Prize! is thy journey dear?
Are its lights extinct forever?
Still suppress that rising tear,
God forsakes the righteous never!

Storms may gather o'er thy path,
All the ties of life may sever—
Still amid the fearful scath,
God forsakes the righteous never!

Pain may rack thy wasting frame,
Health desert thy couch forever;
Faith still burns with deathless flame,—
God forsakes the righteous never!

Nature's Destiny.

ETERNAL Nature! when thy giant hand
Had heaved the floods, and fixed the trembling land;
When life sprang starting at thy plastic call,
Endless her forms, and man the lord of all;
Say, was the lordly form inspired by thee
To wear eternal chains and bow the knee?
Was man ordained the slave of man to toil,
Yoked with the brutes and fettered to the soil;
Weighed in a tyrant's balance with his gold?
No!—Nature stamped us in a heavenly mould;
She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,
Nor, trembling take the pittance and the scourge!
No homeless Libyan, on the stormy deep,
To call upon his country's name and weep!

CAMPBELL.

SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.

Cincinnati Resolutions.

MR. WILSON:—Will you permit a friend of free discussion to offer a few remarks on the resolutions, which were adopted by the Cincinnati pro-slavery meeting of the 23d ult.

With the penman of those resolutions, I am not personally acquainted. These pro-slavery resolutions are trite—a ten times told tale; an echo of southern vituperations against the friends of liberty.

In all the opposition that is made to abolitionists, the position assumed is, that they are endeavoring to excite the slaves to insurrection. Where is the proof of this? It is to be found in the various constitutions of their numerous societies? In their authorized documents, or in their public speeches? Has any abolitionist ever avowed the thing, even in private? Not one. Has any abolitionist ever been found in disguise among the slaves? No. Have they offered violence to the persons or property of slaveholders? No. Peaceable means only do they profess to use, and these they have used.

That men of such talents, information, and respectability, as the members of the Cincinnati pro-slavery meeting, should assemble and publish charges which they cannot substantiate, is truly surprising and lamentable.

The emancipation is, in this country, a very delicate subject, is universally admitted. Many circumstances concur to make it so. The principal is, that abolitionists and their opponents differ, as to the first principles of moral obligation. Slaveholders' supreme standard is expediency; ours is justice. They profess to take the United States constitution as an inflexible rule. Our last appeal is to the word of God. We consider Jehovah's laws paramount to all other claims.

In the first place then, let us examine the moral character of the United States constitution; and secondly, whether it has been most violated by abolitionists or slaveholders. That instrument, we consider one of the most admirable productions of human wisdom. In its general plan we think it hardly capable of improvement; but we are not blind to its imperfections; we do not love its faults.

Slaveholders and their advocates, with one voice, refer us to the law which God gave to Israel, for the vindication of their practice. To that standard, then, I gladly appeal.

Exod. xxi. 16: "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."

But it is indisputable, that the United States constitution, Article 1st, sec. 9th, clause 10th, not only authorized the stealing of men from Africa, and selling them, but absolutely prohibited Congress from abolishing the horrid traffic, for twenty years. Article 5th provides this shall not be amended.

Deut. xxiii. 15, 16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates which liketh him best, thou shalt not oppress him."

The constitution says, Art. 4th, sec. 2d, clause 3d, "No person held to service or labor in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be

delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

Num. xxxv. 21: "Moreover ye shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, which is guilty of death, but he shall be surely put to death." The United States constitution says, Art. 2d, sec. 2, clause 1st, "The president shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States except in cases of impeachment."

The word of God requires us to swear in truth, in judgment, and in righteousness, Jer. iv. 2; but an oath to the United States constitution, is an oath to which no man can know the extent. Art. 2d, sec. 2d, clause 1st, "All faith and credit shall be given, in each state, to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state."

The person, then, who swears to the United States constitution, swears to every law that is or ever shall be enacted in every state, however foolish, absurd, and iniquitous; provided, they do not clash with the United States constitution. This is further corroborated by Art. 4th, sec. 4th, "The United States shall protect each of them against domestic violence."

In vain am I told, that it could not be the intention of those who framed the constitution, that if any state should enact laws to suppress religion, the other states should assist them to enforce those laws. It is to the constitution we swear; not to the intention of its authors. Indeed, what are the laws making it a capital crime to instruct colored people, but laws to suppress religion? But I know that many find a ready opiate for their conscience, by alleging, that the framers of the constitution were wise and good men. To this it is replied, wise and good men have often done very foolish and wicked things.

Exod. xii. 21: "Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them." The American constitution requires no moral qualifications whatever, in any of its officers.

Notwithstanding all those immoralities in the constitution, abolitionists have not violated either its spirit or its letter; our enemies themselves being judges. But as they assert to the contrary, let us examine their proofs.

In the Cincinnati pro-slavery report, the position assumed is, that in the social compact there was a compromise of interest, and sacrifice of feeling! That there was a great sacrifice of feeling and interest, on the part of the free states, it is evident from the manner in which the ratio of representatives is settled by the constitution. But compromise, I can see none.

I would gladly learn, what boon the constitution gives to the free states, as an equivalent for depriving them of their due weight in the national legislature. Again, if our ancestors made a foolish surrender of their rights, are we obliged to do the same?

We will be told, that we have sworn or affirmed to the constitution. We reply—an immoral oath cannot bind the conscience; for this plain reason, that no act of man can set aside the divine law. Were this not so, every kind of wickedness might be committed with impunity, under pretence of fulfilling an oath. Sec. 1, Sam. xvi. Jer. xiv. 15—30; Matt. xiv. 6—12; Acts xxiii. 12, &c.

But we are republicans, we believe that the majority of the nation should rule; therefore we have not been found exciting the slaves to insurrection, nor raising mobs to put down our opponents, nor even carrying arms to defend ourselves.

We have endeavored to live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Believing that the United States constitution needs reformation, believing that under God the people are the legitimate fountain of power, we desire to purify that fountain by the living waters of the sanctuary; or if you please, by the word of God.

We ask our opponents, then, where is the immorality, where is the wickedness, or even the imprudence of such conduct?

In reply to the 1st resolution, I would ask, what clause in the United States constitution binds us not to speak against slavery? If there be such a clause, will the author of that resolution have the goodness to point it out?

To the 2d resolution, our most bitter enemies have never been able to produce a single fact in support of their malicious accusations; sweeping assertions will not prove charges—men of sense will require facts.

To the 3d resolution, I presume no abolitionist will object.

The 4th resolution is based on a false assumption, inasmuch as the abolitionists have never attempted exciting the slaves to insurrection.

To resolution 5th, we reply, the fowness of those who maintain a cause, is neither a proof that the cause is bad, nor that it will not succeed. There are cases in which *five shall chase a hundred*, and a hundred put ten thousand to flight.

The grand objection urged by the enemies of liberty is, that the conduct of abolitionists is a breach of the social compact.

Now, how much soper we regret the sanction given to slavery by the constitution, we have most scrupulously avoided every thing that could be called a violation of it. We have not asked the Congress to interfere with the internal regulations of the slave states.

We have not asked the legislatures of those states to compel the masters to emancipate their slaves. But we have asked them, to repeal those laws by which men, who were made in the image of God, are degraded below the beasts; and we have asked the legislatures to leave the masters at liberty to emancipate their slaves. And we endeavor to persuade the masters, by rational and scriptural arguments, that it is their interest, as well as duty, to let the oppressed go free. Is this a violation of the constitution, a breach of the social compact?

Let us inquire, for a moment, if slaveholders have been as tenacious of the constitution, and of the rights of their northern brethren, as abolitionists have been of theirs.

Union, social compact and compromise, are the words by which they *weild at will their fierce democracy*. That in all cases of social compact, there must be some mutual surrender of privileges, and compromise of interest, is readily admitted; but to a compromise with iniquity, abolitionists never did, and never will consent.

With regard to a compromise of interest: when it was proposed to encourage northern manufactures, the good people of South Carolina assumed not only an independent, but a hostile attitude.

The northern men truckled; and made a free will offering of the interests of their constituents to southern cupidity.

The executive pronounced the conduct of the nullifiers treason; and the nation fully sustained the decision.

It is well known, that Carolina was not alone in this business; a great number of slaveholders in other states, were ready to second her efforts for destroying the union; if they could have hoped for success.

So much for slaveholders' regard to the social compact, compromise of interests, and kindly feelings toward their brethren of the free states! Such extraordinary benevolence and disinterestedness will long be remembered with all due gratitude.

By misrepresentations, by inflammatory speeches at public meetings, in gubernatorial addresses, and violent party newspapers, the advocates of slavery have exerted themselves to the utmost, to prevent abolitionists from speaking, writing, or publishing their views of slavery.

They have excited mobs to destroy their persons and property, for exercising that right which the constitution guarantees to every citizen. Nay, form themselves into committees, for that very purpose; and as if this were not enough, they offer thousands and myriads of dollars to any ruffian who will kidnap or murder them.

Such are their kindly feelings toward their brethren,

such their regard for justice, and such their respect for the constitution!

As a further proof of their zeal for the constitution, they think that the free states should, for their sake, deprive their own subjects of the liberty of speech; and that Congress should deprive them of the right of petitioning.

Seeing it is admitted, on all hands, that the United States constitution is the magna charta of American slavery, it might reasonably have been expected that they would not tear it to pieces with their own hands. But this the southern men have done.

Compare their attempts against the freedom of speech and of the press, and the right of petitioning, with the first article of the amendment to the constitution.

Compare the conduct of their vigilance committees, toward Mr. Dresser and others, with Articles 4th, 5th, and 6th, of said amendment.

And yet, having manifested an utter disregard of the social compact, they pretend to urge its obligation on us, as if one party could be bound and the other be free; and even pretend to charge us with the outrages which they have committed.

Now, surely, it must be a piece of monstrous cruelty, to hurt the feelings of such liberal, benevolent, and humane gentlemen.

It is reckoned very impertinent, in foreigners especially, for free men to express their opinion of slavery.

The same objection was made to Jer. xxxviii. 4: to Amos vii. 10—17; and to Christ and his Apostles. They were all considered officious intermeddlers. But, after all, it is an egregious mistake to think that abolitionists wish to injure slaveholders.

It is alleged, indeed, that in consequence of abolitionists' publications, slaveholders live in a state of perpetual alarm.

This, however, is putting the cause for the effect. Slaveholders were in dread of their slaves long before the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The precise object of abolitionists is, to persuade slaveholders to deliver themselves from that alarm, by removing the cause.

Here let me ask slaveholders and their advocates, had we used the same exertions to excite insurrection among their slaves, that they have done to excite mobs to abuse and murder us, what would now be their situation? If they be afraid of any one lighting a train to blow them up, let them remove the combustibles.

In this state we have negroes, we have people of all descriptions; but we need no nightly patrols, we need neither rifle, sword, nor pistol by our bed; our citizens can sleep soundly without bolt or bar to their doors. Such is the security of the free states!

We most cordially desire to see our southern brethren equally secure and happy with ourselves. We most sincerely desire, that the union may be perpetuated; and that all the excellencies of the American government, without its defects, may be transmitted as a precious legacy to posterity.

But, such a desirable object can be attained, only by administering justice, impartially to all.

One word in conclusion; the enemies of freedom may excite mobs, and even offer rewards for the assassination of our most worthy citizens; but they will only cause the inextinguishable desire of liberty to burn with more intense flame.

Knowing that slaveholding is inconsistent with the alienable rights of man, with every principle of the gospel, and abhorred by every enlightened philanthropist, throughout the world, we will make with it neither peace nor truce. Our opposition to it can cease only with its extermination, or the end of our lives.

And if, when we are called to change a mortal for an immortal existence, the abhorred monster shall still continue to pollute and disgrace our otherwise happy and beloved land: we shall, with our latest breath, exhort our posterity never to relax their exertions, till every yoke be broken, and the oppressed set free.

Lord thou hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt prepare their hearts, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear. He judgeth the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may have no oppressor.—Psalms x. 17, 18.—Sleubenville Herald.

Slavery and its Consequences.

We assume an undoubted fact, that slavery is a crime, which, however, many circumstances may palliate, it is utterly impossible to justify—and particularly so in a country like ours, the broad charter of whose rights proclaims that freedom is the alienable inheritance of all. The evils which are uniformly inflicted upon the people by whom it is sanctioned, plainly declare it to be such. We are aware, however, that it is a singular feature of the times, that the natural and legitimate offspring of slavery, are attributed to a parentage the very antagonist of the system. This remark is particularly true of the efforts which the slaves are at times induced to make to secure their liberty. In these days it is fashionable to ascribe such attempts to the imagined incendiary proceedings of the advocates of equal rights; and to denounce them as men who have kindled the fires of a servile and mercenary warfare. But can this charge be sustained? Can it be proved that abolitionists have even desired the existence of strife? Certainly not. The imputation is false. The course of the difficulty is in the system itself. Is it not more strange that oppression should produce resistance, than that the soil should yield herbage. It is nature operating in accordance with her common laws. And to argue otherwise is to conclude against the decided and unanimous testimony of all experience, as well as the instinctive emotions of our own breasts—the very emotions to which we always refer when vindicating our own repulsion of injury. And so invariably is this principle acknowledged that it is made the basis of our reasonings in regard to every other race of men under the whole heavens, except the negro.

It is, and will ever remain true, that so long as men are enslaved they will struggle for liberty. And it is nonsense to propound the inquiry,—From whom do they derive the knowledge of their rights, and of the blessings of freedom? The consciousness of those rights is the work of nature, which cannot fail of existing with energy, in a land where they are made the topic of remark at every fireside, and in every public assembly. And as for information as to the value of freedom they have only to open their eyes, and they have a cogent instructor in their presence—the blessings of liberty are all around them in painful contrast in the ills of bondage. Under such circumstances it is absolutely impossible that they should not know and feel, and act; the only mystery is that they do not feel more deeply, and act with greater decision and effect.

It is idle to talk of repressing the efforts of slaves for freedom, by drawing more closely the bonds by which they are held. It is not only idle, it is dangerous. Instead of extinguishing their desires, such a policy aggravates them. It may answer indeed, to keep them in a temporary subjection, but when they are again aroused, as unquestionably it must be, it will serve to increase their rage.

The only safe and politic measure, to prevent continued and incessant alarm and suffering from the slave population, is emancipation. The cause must be removed, and then the evil will doubtless have found its only remedy. But unless this is done, we expect to hear of scenes enacted by the black population of the south, which shall spread mourning through the whole land. The spirit of the age admonishes us. For it proclaims in a clear, decisive tone, that the alliance of liberty with servitude, is near its end. They have already commenced a strife, which can never admit of reconciliation, and doubtless but one of them can survive. Either freedom shall extend its dominion throughout the entire land, or slavery will bind her fetters upon the nation. That the triumph of liberty and right are certain, requires no proof. The evidences of the fact

are too numerous and varied. The whole nation will yet see the violence they have done their own principles, and return to the position with which it first started—"all men are born free and equal."—Cleveland Whig.

Southern Logic.

WE subjoin a communication from the United States Telegraph, and have added to it, what we consider a parallel specimen of the same style of reasoning:—

The Question in a Nut-shell.—If Congress were to grant the prayer of the petitioners to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the dissolution of the union would immediately follow. Every body admits that. These petitions to Congress, therefore, are equivalent to petitions for the dissolution. Would Congress receive such? All answer, No. Then it follows that Mr. Calhoun is right. His proposition is, not to receive these abolition petitions, which are, in effect and virtually, petitions for the dissolution of the union. The object of these rascals is apparent. I mean those of the initiated—the master spirits in the plot. Their aim is, first to break the present federal union of the states, and then to have a grand consolidated government.

COMMON SENSE.

Let us suppose that a band of incendiaries have taken an oath that they will burn the city of Boston, if the legislature grant the petition for a ten million bank. Now, granting that they have the power to put their threats in execution—if the legislature grant the prayer of the petitioners, the burning of Boston would immediately follow. These petitions, therefore, are equivalent to petitions for the burning of Boston. Would the legislature receive such? All answer, No. It follows then that the legislature must refuse to receive the petitions for the ten million bank. The object of these rascally petitioners is apparent. Their aim is to burn all the houses of the citizens of Boston, and then make them pay exorbitant interest for money to rebuild them.

We trust that the time will come when the north will no longer consent to sacrifice all their interests and wishes, because the south threaten to dissolve the union. The *modus operandi* of the south has always been, to threaten to make war, if the north do not yield to their demands, and then argue to the north, that for the sake of peace, they should yield. As if a highwayman should demand your purse, and tell you that the responsibility of your murder will belong to yourself and not to him, if you do not give it to him.—Boston Cour.

LITERARY.

The Grave Yard.

THERE is perhaps no scene more appalling to humanity than the grave yard. The warrior who has conquered every scene of danger and dismay, and waded unmovable through fields of blood, if he chance to walk in the valley of death, where the dark cypress and the willow wave their drooping foliage—when he views in silence each dark mansion, where pleasure's gay sons and daughters are quietly reposing, his courage forsakes him, he feels that he is under the influence of some supernatural spell. But has it this effect on all who visit this lonely vale? No! it is not thus with the Christian; with him it is sacred. It is the spot in which he loves to linger and commune with kindred spirits. When evening is drawing her crimson curtains around the horizon, and the shadows that enwrap this sacred spot in the mantle of night, are folding up, it is then the Christian loves to visit this sequestered place, and while the wind is whistling rudely through the tall grass that rears its lonely head above their sleeping dust, he feels a solemn and pleasing emotion. When he views the small green mounds which contain the relics of happy spirits who are now participating in the immortal joys of paradise, and who will one day be re-united to their kindred dust, he too, feels that ere long he will mingle his mouldering remains with theirs—but this thought does not damp his spirits. It is a pleasing reflection to those whose hopes are anchored above these transitory things. O, it is sweet to reflect, that when our souls shall be emancipated from this sinful dust, we shall bloom in the paradise of God. It is here that we see the votaries of the temple of fashion crowded, side by side, with here and there a towering monument, to mark the place of some distinguished personage, whom the fell monarch of the tomb has fallen beneath his iron grasp. Where is she, the mother's joy, who but a short time ago was basking in the sunshine of fortune, while beauty sat triumphant on her brow? Mark that little knoll which the ivy and myrtle form a canopy and wind their tendrils around its side—there she lies silently reposing, and sturbed by regrets, uncommenced with care—

Where beauty no longer her roses shall nourish,
Nor the lily o'erpress the wan cheek of despair.

Observe that new tree, which is waving mournfully in the breeze as it sweeps by; beneath it rests a lovely boy, the father's pride, whose infant prattle awakened a paternal feeling, cut off in the morning of his days, and with him all a father's hopes. And here too lie the sage and the hero, who have enrolled their names in the book of fame; they have finished their work on earth, and are now trying the realities of an eternal world.

The husband and the wife—the lover and the mistress, are here mingled with the mother earth, safe from the storm of life, where naught is heard but the lonely notes of the ominous whip-poor-will, and the hoot of the wretched owl, borne along the breeze like the mournful song of the departed. The wanderer, as he passes this dreary place, hurries along; lest the gloom of night should overtake him, and bring to his view the image of departed spirits.—Pittsburg.

The Sun and the Icicle.

LOTAN was a Jew, living in captivity. His nation was scattered abroad to the four winds of Heaven, and he and his family were exiled from their sunny home on the banks of the Jordan, to the cold snows of the north. Poverty and persecution pursued them still. Man as well as nature was unkind.

Lotan mourned as one without hope. Love softened but could not unripen his shackles. Day by day the iron entered his heart deeper and deeper.

One bright morning in November, Lotan sat in sadness and grief by his fire side. The eastern heavens were 'fretted with the golden fire' of the rising sun. And the icy flocks flashed and quivered with a thousand tremulous rays of silver light. A bird, beguiled by the pomp and tranquility of the morning, sat in the garden hedge and swelled her little throat with a hymn to the Almighty, and waked the echoes of nature's solitude, and filled the chambers of the human bosom with glad harmony. But Lotan brooded over his exile and was exceedingly sorrowful. The splendor and glorious majesty of the rising king of day communicated no delight. The silent sympathy of Adah, his wife, and the happy prattle of his children, soothed not his chafed spirit.

He thought of his home in the Holy Land. He remembered the cave in the hill side where his father and mother slept with their fathers. Oh bitter, bitter exile from those dear scenes of youthful love!

Lotan repined, and forgot his blessings enjoyed and preserved, in the recollection of his blessings lost. An unholy wish struggled in the depths of his heart, and came into being, like a bubble shooting up from the dark sea, he breathed a silent curse against his enemies, and his countenance darkened with the mingling lines of wrath and grief.

And his eye caught a slender icicle pendant from the low roof, and glittering pure and keenly in the sunbeam. An image of our happy home in the far East, mused the exile. So bright were the joyful hopes that clustered around our little circle, so calm was the heaven of that blessed home. "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!"

The day advanced, and the sun poured forth an atmosphere of light and warmth and love. When suddenly the icicle was loosened from its frail hold, and was dashed in pieces on the icy pavement beneath the window. A tear started in Lotan's eye, and his wild thoughts

were stilled. I will mourn no more, said he. The little icicles teach me wisdom, submission. It has perished, but not without cause. The universal sun that fills the world with beauty and gladness, has destroyed it. What carries life to millions, carries death to one. I will weep no more. My home is overwhelmed in the convulsions of the world, and we are cast on this desolate coast, shipwrecked in the world-storm. But the Judge of all the earth does right. His winds and lightnings wreck the lone vessel, but they give fresh life and elasticity to the all-surrounding air. The dark world will be enlightened by the children of God, banished from their holy home and wandering in exile. "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice, let the multitude of isles be glad thereof!"

And Lotan bowed himself in prayer, and when he arose the wrath and the sorrow had departed, and his eye was calm, and he looked on his wife and little ones, and his heart yearned towards them.—Register and Observer.

Life—an Allegory.

BY J. G. PERCIVAL.

It is now Morning. Still and glassy lies the lake, within its green and dew-scented shores. Light mist hangs around, like a sky veil, and only reveals the uncertain outlines of woods and hills. The warm vernal air is just stirring in the valleys, but has not yet ruffled the water's mirror. Turns the eye upward—the misty vault opens into the calm clear heavens, over which their seems suffused a genial spirit's breath. Far distant on the horizon flash out the gilded and reddening peaks; and from upward crown of snow, a sudden radiance announces the risen sun. Now in the east stream the golden rays through the soft blue vapor. The breeze freshens, and comes loaded with fragrance from the woods. A faint, dark curl sweeps over the water; the mist rolls up, lifts itself above meadow and hill, and in gathered folds hangs light around the mountains. Away on the level lake, till it meets the sky, silver gleams the sheeted wave, sprinkled with changeable stars, as the ever rising breeze breaks it in ripples. Now the pennon, that hung loose around the mast, rises and stiffly floats. We spread the sail, and casting off from the shore, glide out with cheerful hearts on our voyage. Before us widens the lake; rock after rock receding on either hand, and opening between, still bays hung round with sparkling woods, or leading through green meadow vistas to blue sunny hills.

It is now Noon. In the middle lake speeds the bark over light-glancing waves. Dark opens down the clear depth. White toss the crests of foam,—and, as the sail stoops to the steady wind, swift flies the parted water round the prow, and rushing pours behind the stern. The distant shores glow bright in the sun, that alone in the heaven looks unveiled with vivifying goodness over the earth. How high and broad swells the sky! The agitated lake tosses like a wide field of snowy blossoms. Sweep after sweep of the long-retiring shores—hill gleaming over hill, up to the shadowy mountains—and over these Alpine needless, shooting pearly white into the boundless azure—all lie still and happy under the ever-smiling sun.

And now it is Evening. The sun is sinking behind the dark mountains, and clouds scattered far in the east float soft in the rosy light. The sun is now hidden, and strong and wide sweeps its golden flame like the holy blaze of a funeral pile. The breeze slackens—the waves subside in slumber—and slowly the bark steers into its sheltering bay. Long shadows stretch from hill to valley—full like dark curtains on the lake—and a solemn, subdued serenity broods, like a protecting spirit, over the hushed and quiet earth. Only the far summits yet retain their brightness. Faint blushes stain the eternal snows, recalling the first dawning roses, like the memory of early joys, in the tranquil moments of departing day. These, too, fade; but the evening star looks bright from the blue infinite, and like the herald of a better world, leads us softly to our haven.—Knickerbocker.

The Maniac's account of Himself.

I AM a wild horse in the midst of a boundless prairie urged onward by the whips of a legion of demons. I am a comet, driven by an unknown impulse through unlimited space with neither end nor aim.

I am a sea-gull, tossed by furious winds upon the shoreless sea, whose waves assault the throne of Heaven, and anon sink down to the fathomless abyss.

I am a chronometer with a broken balance, onward driven, regardless of time or space, and though shafts may break and cogs drop out in the giddy whirl, my motto is always, Onward, Onward.

My brain is a furnace, my heart is an ice house, my pulse is a death watch, whose every beat announces the approach of anguish and despair. Anon the congregation of my visions and my troubled thoughts, sink down in stagnant pools, whose slimy depths exhale a stench as nauseous as a stygian lake.

This is my resting place. But ere mature, the congregated myriads of noisome reptiles that hatch prolific in a bog like this, uprising from the stagnant surface of the poisonous lake, with scales erect, and tongues of fire, fasten on my lungs. Horror stricken and oppressed by an incubus of a thousand tons, my jaded spirit, impatient longer of a load so vile, seeks to escape by suicide. But dangers, knives of murderous length and flexible twine, are all deceptive in my grasp, and like cobwebs in the circling eddies of intensest flame, exhale by the slightest touch.—Port. Cour.

Nature's Beauties.

THINK not, my child, that the beauties of this world are for the rich and great alone. The illuminated drawing-room, the green-house, and the hot-house are theirs; but the quiet moon-light, the nightly heavens with their multitude of shining worlds, the sun spreading his splendor over a sky of cloudless blue, or lighting up the clouds of evening with a thousand gorgeous hues, the air perfumed in its passage over field and heath, the lovely flowers of the wild-thorn and hedge-row, these are provided by a beneficent God for the rich and poor alike. And who would leave these for the painted gaudies of art?

And think not, my child, that the blessings of the gospel are for the learned alone. They may taste the beauties of the inspired poetry better, and penetrate more deeply into the few obscurities of the holy writ: but the comforts of the Bible, pardon of sin, reconciliation with God, peace, and holiness, and heaven—these are for all; these gladden the heart of the laborer at his toil, of the patient of an hospital on his dying bed, and baffle then, how you quit these divine consolations for all that learning can